Italian opera and European theatre, 1680-1720 : plots, performers, dramaturgies.

Bucciarelli, Melania

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Plots, Performers, Dramaturgies

Melania Bucciarelli

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Abstract

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Melania Bucciarelli

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Historical evidence of connections between opera and other theatrical practices form the starting point for a study of *dramma per musica* within the wider context of Baroque theatre. The comparative study of opera and other contemporary theatrical and literary genres assesses the individuality of *dramma per musica* and identifies those influences which most contributed to its development as a genre at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The first part of this study deals with problems of methodology for analysing the interrelationship of text, music, gesture and scenography in order to define the role music played in a genre characterised by the presence of arias and by the demands of the singers. The historical and analytical enquiry into the cultural background of *dramma per musica* forms the basis for a dramaturgical and musical analysis of six *drammi per musica*.

Chapters Two and Three focus on the relationship between *dramma per musica* and the practice of *commedia dell'arte* which dominated theatrical activity in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. A comparative study of three settings of Zeno-Pariati's *dramma per musica Engelberta* (1708) and a *commedia dell'arte scenario* sharing the same subject highlights dramaturgical analogies between the two forms of theatre and measures Zeno's preoccupation with literary standards and performance/musical requirements.

Chapter Four places Piovene-Lotti's *tragedia per musica Polidoro* (1715), based on a seventeenth-century Italian tragedy by Pomponio Torelli, within the frame of contemporary attempts by actors and literati to reform Italian theatre through the revival of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian tragedies. The study of the opera and its model assesses the feasibility of Italian classicist tragedy serving as a guide for the development of eighteenth-century opera.

Finally, Chapters Five, Six and Seven focus on the growing popularity of French classical tragedy in Italy and its formative role on *dramma per musica*. This part discusses Salvi's first experiment with Racine's *Andromaque* (*Astianatte*, 1701) and Gasparini's setting of 1722, as well as Handel's first Royal Academy Opera *Radamisto* (1720) on Lalli's libretto *L'amor tirannico*. Based on Georges de Scudéry's *tragicomédie L'Amour tyrannique*, Lalli's libretto proves to be an important mediation between French drama and opera; in this context, aspects of the 1720 setting are discussed in order to highlight the indirect influence of the French model on Handel's creative process.

Contents

List of Tables and Text Examples

List of Musical Examples

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In memory of my father,
whose experience
and love of theatre
has been a constant
inspiration

Introduction

The present study investigates the complex relationship between opera, contemporary theatrical practice and literary genres at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a time when important changes in the structure and content of the opera libretto, as well as in musical composition, paved the way to Pietro Metastasio and opera seria. These changes were not unrelated to the influence of the Accademia dell'Arcadia, founded in Rome in 1690 by a circle of literati assembled by Christina of Sweden (who died in 1689). The specific interest of the new Academy was in poetry and its express purpose was the purification of Italian literary style through the abandonment of Marinism and the *concettismo* of Baroque poetry, the pursuit of a pastoral simplicity and a renewed interest in Petrarchism and Classicism.

The literary historian Walter Binni was the first to fully recognise the significance of Arcadia's new aesthetics for Metastasio and the eighteenth-century libretto.[1] The classical ideals of verisimilitude and good taste led to a dignity of style and locution, as well as the elimination of many of the 'irregularities' of seventeenth-century practice, such as the intermingling of tragic and comic elements, the frequent resorting to the supernatural and the reliance on machinery. This resulted in a reduction in the number of characters and arias, the latter becoming longer and increasingly being placed at the end of the scene, and in the observance of the unities of action, time and, to a certain extent, place.

The most complete account of the emergence of these new traits in libretto writing at the turn of the eighteenth century remains Robert Freeman's *Opera Without*

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[1] Walter Binni, *L'Arcadia e il Metastasio* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1963).

Drama of 1967.[2] Through an exhaustive survey of contemporary and later writings on the reform of *dramma per musica*, Freeman investigated the nature of Apostolo Zeno's involvement and the circumstances that led to the consolidation of a tradition that saw Zeno as the sole promoter of the reform before Metastasio. Furthermore, he broadened the purview of contemporary poets who were involved with introducing changes to the structure and content of the opera libretto. Freeman's investigation, unfortunately, lacked a theatrical perspective that would have allowed him to contextualise the contemporary attempts made to reform *dramma per musica*. Nevertheless, he succeeded in re-addressing the question of the real extent of the Accademia dell'Arcadia's influence on this process and attempted to relate the changes in libretto writing to the latest musical developments. The identification of many of the ideas which were later to be associated with the reform movement in pre-Arcadian writings led him to suspect that many of these changes and new ideas were attributable to the experience of singers, composers and librettists.

The question of a direct and substantial influence of the ideas and ideals of the Arcadians on the early eighteenth-century libretto was later to be raised again, in particular by Piero Weiss in 1982.[3] His study outlined the fundamental steps of the melodramatic reform, from the initial compliance with the Accademia dell'Arcadia's quite specific, albeit sporadic, suggestions to revive *favola pastorale*, to Zeno's unexpected shift towards the imitation of French classical tragedy - unexpected, because the mingling with tragedy was in direct opposition to what the first leaders of Arcadia had wanted for *dramma per musica*.

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[2] Robert S. Freeman, *Opera Without Drama: Currents of Change in Italian Opera 1675-1725* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981) (Studies in Musicology, 35); this is a reprint of Freeman's Ph.D dissertation of 1967.

[3] Piero Weiss, 'Teorie drammatiche e "infranciosamento": motivi della "riforma" melodrammatica nel primo Settecento', in *Antonio Vivaldi: Teatro musicale, cultura, società*, ed. by L. Bianconi and G. Morelli, 2 vols (Florence: Olschki, 1982), pp. 273-96.

Zeno's shift towards French drama appears less surprising if we examine the improvements of *dramma per musica* within the wider context of the experiments and attempts at a reform of Italian theatre as a whole, made during the same years. Theatre historians have often included operatic spectacle in their investigations. The monumental works of Emilio Bertana, Xavier de Courville, Benedetto Croce, Heinz Kindermann and Vito Pandolfi,[4] together with more recent studies in the field of theatre and literary criticism, constitute invaluable sources of information for the opera scholar wishing to acquire a clearer and more detailed perspective of the role of *dramma per musica* in Italian and European culture.

The first musicologist to take into serious consideration the results of theatre studies with specific reference to the tradition of *commedia dell'arte* was Nino Pirrotta. His investigation into the links between *commedia* and opera (1955) highlighted similarities between the organisation of travelling troupes of singers during the first half of the seventeenth century, who were responsible for the spread of this new form of entertainment, and those of comici dell'arte.[5] Twenty years later, this fundamental aspect of the early stages of opera development received full attention by Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker.[6] More recently, the combined research of theatre historians and musicologists has provided ample new documentation about theatrical activity in Naples and Rome during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[7] The results of their

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[4] Emilio Bertana, *La tragedia* (Milan: Vallardi, n.d.); Benedetto Croce, *I teatri di Napoli: sec.XV-XVIII* (Naples: presso Luigi Pierro, 1891); Xavier De Courville, *Un apôtre de l'art du théâtre au XVIIIe siècle: Luigi Riccoboni dit Lélio*, 3 vols (Paris: Droz, 1943); Heinz Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas*, 10 vols (Salzburg: Müller, 1957-74), vol. 3, *Theater der Barockzeit* (1959); Vito Pandolfi, *La commedia dell'Arte*, 6 vols (Florence: Sansoni Antiquariato, 1957-61).

[5] Nino Pirrotta, 'Commedia dell'Arte and Opera', *Musical Quarterly* 41 (1955), pp. 305-24.

[6] Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker, 'Dalla "Finta pazza" alla "Veremonda": storie di Febiarmonici', *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 10 (1975), pp. 379-454.

[7] Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, *Onesto divertimento, ed allegria de' popoli: Materiali per una storia dello spettacolo a Napoli nel primo Settecento* (Milan: Ricordi, 1996); id., *Le istituzioni musicali a Napoli durante il viceregno austriaco (1707-1734): Materiali inediti sulla Real Cappella ed il teatro di San Bartolomeo* (Naples: Luciano, 1993); Rosario Assunto *et alii*, *Il teatro a Roma nel Settecento* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1989) (Biblioteca internazionale di cultura, vol. 21); Bruno Cagli (ed.), *Le Muse galanti: La musica a Roma nel Settecento* (Rome: Istituto

investigation lead us to suspect a more consistent exchange of personnel between spoken and musical drama than was previously imagined.

The increasing interest of theatre- and music-historians in theatre and social studies with reference to opera history produced a wealth of specialised studies during the 1980s on libretti, singers, dramaturgy, scenography and theatre management; they constitute an important and valuable contribution to our understanding of the different parts that formed eighteenth-century operatic spectacle, but only infrequently provide insight into the ways in which these components were related to each other and, in particular, to music.[8]

A small number of musicologists has benefited from the wealth of information that theatre studies have yielded, to develop a new approach to the analysis of *dramma per musica* which would take into account its status in eighteenth-century theatre, its ambitions and, in general, the context of ideas in which it flourished. Recent studies by Weiss and Reinhard Strohm have directed attention towards the common theoretical background of contemporary theatrical genres and the opera libretto, as well as to the formative role of French theatre in the shaping of the genre of *dramma per musica*.[9]

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della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1985); Giorgio Petrocchi (ed.), *Orfeo in Arcadia: Studi sul Teatro a Roma nel Settecento* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1984).

[8] Among the few studies that attempted to highlight the relationship between different parts of the drama, see H. Hansell, 'Stage Deportment and Scenographic Design in the Italian Opera Seria of the Settecento', in *Report of the 11th Congress of the International Musicological Society Copenhagen 1972*, I, ed. by H. Glahn, S. Sorensen and P. Ryom (Copenhagen: Hansen, 1974), pp. 415-19; Pierluigi Petrobelli, 'Lo spazio e l'azione scenica nell'opera seria settecentesca', in *Illusione e pratica teatrale* (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1975), pp. 25-30; Stefan Kunze, 'Szenische Aspekte in Händels Opernmusik', in *Händel auf dem Theater: Bericht über die Symposien der Internationalen Händel-Akademie Karlsruhe 1986-1987*, ed. by H.J. Marx (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1988), pp. 181-92.

[9] Weiss, 'Teorie drammatiche e "infranciosamento"', pp. 273-96; id., 'Metastasio, Aristotle, and Opera seria', *Journal of Musicology* 1 (1982), pp. 385-94; id., 'Neoclassical Criticism and Opera', in *Studies in the History of Music* II (New York: Broude Bros, 1984), pp. 1-30; id., 'Baroque Opera and the Two Verisimilitudes', in *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang* (New York, 1984), pp. 117-26; Reinhard Strohm, '*Tragédie* into "Dramma per musica"' I, *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 9 (1988), pp. 14-24; II, ibid.,10 (1989), pp. 57-101; III, ibid., 11 (1990), pp. 11-25; IV, ibid., 12 (1991), pp. 47-74; id., 'Zur musikalischen Dramaturgie von *Arianna in Creta*', in *Gattungskonventionen der Händel-Oper: Bericht über die Symposien 1990 und 1991*, ed. by H.J. Marx (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1992) (Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Händel-Akademie, vol. 4), pp. 171-88; id., 'Auf der Suche nach dem Drama im "Dramma per musica": die Bedeutung der französischen Tragödie', in *De*

Strohm, in fact, began to explore the implications of the influence of French drama and of spoken theatre in general on *dramma per musica* as early as 1977. He broadened and lengthened the list of French dramatists and Italian librettists who, besides Jean Racine, Pierre and Thomas Corneille, Zeno and Metastasio, were involved in the process of adaptating French dramas into *drammi per musica*; tragedies by Gautier de Costes, sieur de La Calprenède, Nicolas Pradon or Jean Rotrou were identified by Strohm as having stood as models for librettists such as Antonio Salvi, Agostino Piovene or Domenico David.[10] In particular, in his four-part study '*Tragédie* into "Dramma per musica"', Strohm investigated the supposed boundaries between the literary genres of drama and opera libretto and highlighted the fact that the same theoretical precepts that governed drama were also in force in opera libretti of the early eighteenth century. By challenging the generally accepted principle of the existence of the opera libretto as a separate literary genre with its own aesthetics, Strohm has laid the foundations for a new approach to the study of the music and dramaturgy of eighteenth-century opera.

This investigation aims to contribute towards a better understanding of the genre of *dramma per musica*, and to the development of a new approach to eighteenth-century opera studies (in particular to the analysis of *dramma per musica*) that would take into account the variable interactions of poetry, music, gesture and stage sets. I will argue that an examination of opera which considers the balance of the different systems that combined to form the operatic spectacle (a theatrical event above all) would allow a clearer understanding of the role that music played in this genre - a genre which,

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Musica et Cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und Oper Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag, ed. by P. Cahn and A.-K. Heimer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), pp. 481-93; id., 'Händel-Oper und Regeldrama', in *Zur Dramaturgie der Barockoper: Bericht über die Symposien 1992 und 1993*, ed. by H.J. Marx (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1994) (Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Händel-Akademie, vol. 5), pp. 33-54.

[10] Reinhard Strohm, 'Handel, Metastasio, Racine: the Case of *Ezio*', *Musical Times* 98 (1977), pp. 901-03.

according to the librettists themselves, was severely 'limited' by the presence of arias and by the demands of the singers.

In order to uncover the strategies utilised by composers to manipulate the listeners' emotions in comparison with those employed by dramatists, Chapter One explores the strategies of Rhetoric and contemporary dramatic theory. The historical and analytical enquiry into the cultural background of *dramma per musica*, with special attention given to the writings of Pierre Corneille, François Hédelin Abbé d'Aubignac, Andrea Perrucci, Pier Jacopo Martello and Johann David Heinichen, forms the basis for a dramaturgical and musical analysis of six *drammi per musica* (based on four libretti) within the context of three major areas of influence in spoken theatre on the developing genre of *dramma per musica*: the practice of *commedia dell'arte* which, together with opera, dominated theatrical activity in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the contemporary revival of Italian classicist tragedy and the ever increasing popularity in Italy of French classical tragedy.

The choice of the chronological boundaries of 1680 and 1720 for my investigation is not an arbitrary one. It was in the 1680s that reformist tendencies started to take hold in libretto writing, especially in Venice. During these same years, the first *drammi per musica* modelled on French tragedies began to appear in conjunction with the first Italian prose translations of the great French masterpieces, while Count Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti and other classicist poets began to write *tragedie per musica* for the Teatro Grimani di San Giovanni Grisostomo (Venice). The opening, in 1678, of what was soon to become the most important theatre in Venice (and indeed Italy) marked the beginning of a new phase in Italian opera history. The opera repertory created by major Italian theatres, particularly by the San Giovanni Grisostomo, began to cross the Alps and spread throughout Europe, thereby transforming Italian opera into a European phenomenon. This transformation reached its completion in the 1720s, when the appearance of Metastasio - his *Didone abbandonata,* with music by Domenico Sarro,

was produced in Naples in 1724 - coincided with the successes of a new generation of Neapolitan and Neapolitan-trained composers (Leonardo Vinci, Leonardo Leo, Nicola Porpora and others). These composers were largely responsible for important stylistic transformations that were to lead to the development of a more general Italian operatic language during the 1740s.

The principle behind the choice of the *drammi per musica* discussed here consists of a combination of pertinence, necessity and personal interest. The availability of complete scores was certainly the first concern, as very few have survived (compared to existing libretti). Only a small number of scores has been published in modern editions. With the exception of George Frideric Handel's two 1720 settings of the opera *Radamisto* (discussed in Chapter Seven), all *drammi per musica* considered in this study are only available in manuscript form. Despite the difficulties, I have also attempted to select examples from the most popular and influential librettists and composers of the time, such as Apostolo Zeno, Antonio Salvi, Domenico Lalli, Agostino Piovene, as well as Francesco Gasparini, Tommaso Albinoni, Antonio Lotti, Francesco Mancini and George Frideric Handel, and to embrace in my discussions all major operatic centres: Venice, Florence, Rome, Naples and London - the last-named being one of the most important centres of Italian opera in Europe.

All primary sources, such as printed and manuscript scores, libretti, dramas, contemporary theoretical writings on theatre and opera, printed and manuscript collections of *scenari*, are listed in the relevant sections of the Bibliography. Letters that have been quoted after secondary literature are not listed. Libretti include frontispieces, dedications, *avvisi al lettore*, as well as poetic texts. Indeed, *avvisi* and *dediche* of opera libretti provide invaluable information not only on literary and historical sources that may have provided the models for the *dramma*, but also about theoretical precepts and procedures that guided the librettist in the process of adapting a spoken drama into a *dramma per musica*, while the identity of dedicatees often reveals important

social/political connections that may have had some bearing on the choice of a dramatic model and theatrical repertoire.

The musical examples consist of facsimile reproductions of the arias and sections of recitative discussed in the main text, as well as of transcriptions from the original manuscript scores. The examples for Chapter Seven have been drawn from *G.F. Händels Werke: Ausgabe der Deutschen Händelgesellschaft*, ed. by F.W. Chrysander, (Leipzig, 1875, R Ridgewood, New Jersey: Gregg Press Incorporated, 1965). I have retained the original clefs, key signatures, time signatures and the placement of bar lines, but modernised the use of accidentals. Articulation marks and other performance indications are those found in the original score. I have retained archaic spelling, original capitalisation and punctuation marks in the Italian texts. Occasionally, spelling and punctuation have been modernised so as to clarify meaning. All facsimiles and transcriptions are placed in Appendix 1.

The translations from Italian non-poetic writings, letters and *avvisi al lettore* are my own, unless otherwise stated. To translate all the quotations from poetic texts and French theoretical writings would have been beyond the scope of this study.

Library sigla are those used in RISM (*Répertoire international des sources musicales*) and listed in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (6th edn).

Chapter 1

Poetics and Rhetoric as Cultural Background of *Dramma per Musica*

The Accademia dell'Arcadia and *Dramma per Musica*

Dramma per musica never gave rise to a body of theory to compare with the flourishing output of writings on dramaturgy dedicated to French classical drama. Even during the years of the so-called reform, when a growing body of Italian theatre-criticism included opera in its debates, a poetics of *dramma per musica* was not produced. The major Arcadians Giovan Mario Crescimbeni, Ludovico Antonio Muratori and Gian Vincenzo Gravina devoted very little space to opera in their writings, and those who believed in the possibility of a reform of *dramma per musica* saw the way forward only in the *favola pastorale* (which usually had a simple plot centred around love intrigues in a pastoral setting, with choruses, *macchine* and few arias).[1] Only non-historical subjects could, in fact, make use of machines, choruses, dances and music in general, and observe *verisimiglianza* at the same time. Moreover, none of the non-Arcadian librettists that Robert Freeman identified as having been involved in the changes in form and content of the libretto were actually named in the writings of the major Arcadians,[2] whereas, apart from Apostolo Zeno a few other Arcadian poets such as

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[1] The most complete survey of contemporary theoretical sources about *dramma per musica* and the reform, is found in Robert Freeman, *Opera Without Drama: Currents of Change in Italian Opera, 1675-1725* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981).

[2] Apart from Zeno, Crescimbeni mentioned Guidi, Gigli, Campello, Stampiglia and Lemene in *L'istoria della volgar poesia* (Rome, 1698) and in addition to Stampiglia, Gigli and Capello, he later mentioned Bussi, Moniglia, Sinibaldi, Bernardoni and Capece (*La bellezza della volgar poesia*, Rome, 1700). Pier Jacopo Martello (*Della tragedia antica e moderna*, Rome, 1715) expressed his esteem for the libretti of Moniglia, Lemene, Capece, Manfredi, Stampiglia, Bernini, de Totis and Zeno. Cfr. Freeman, *Opera Without Drama*, pp. 12-14; 38.

Silvio Stampiglia and Carlo Sigismondo Capece, only Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, the foremost patron of the Roman Arcadia, received regular praise for his uninteresting pastorals. Fabrizio Della Seta has drawn attention to the influential role played by Cardinal Ottoboni in the admission of Alessandro Scarlatti and, most probably, of Arcangelo Corelli and Bernardo Pasquini to the Arcadia.[3] Ottoboni's influence was apparently behind most of the initiatives concerning music, such as the planned, but never-founded *Coro d'Arcadia* and the promotion, in 1714, of a contest between the two Arcadias[4] (which patronised the operas *Tito e Berenice* by Capece-Caldara and *Lucio Papirio* by Salvi-Gasparini).[5] The praise given by the Arcadians to the libretti written by Ottoboni and by his (and other patrons') *protégés* were mainly a polite tribute to its principal patron and it is not unlikely, therefore, that *dramma per musica*, one of the main interests of the artistic patronage of the Cardinal, entered into the Arcadian discussions in a similar way.

The only extensive 'Arcadian' writing about *dramma per musica* that seems to have taken music into serious consideration and attempted to produce a theory of opera proper is Pier Jacopo Martello's *Della tragedia antica e moderna* (1715), an essay on poetics in the form of a dialogue between an old man who claims to be Aristotle (hence the subtitle *The Impostor*) and Martello himself. The entire fifth section is devoted to

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[3] Fabrizio Della Seta, 'La musica in Arcadia al tempo di Corelli', in *Nuovissimi Studi Corelliani: Atti del terzo Congresso Internazionale (Fusignano, 4-7 sett. 1980)*, ed by S. Durante and P. Petrobelli (Florence: Olschki, 1982), pp. 123-48.

[4] In 1711 Gravina left the Accademia dell'Arcadia and founded the more conservative Accademia de' Quirini, which claimed to be the 'true' Arcadia.

[5] Della Seta, 'Francesco Gasparini, virtuoso del principe Borghese', in *Francesco Gasparini (1661-1727): Atti del Primo Convegno Internazionale 1978*, ed. by F. Della Seta and F. Piperno (Florence: Olschki, 1981), p. 223. On Ottoboni's and other Arcadians' influence on the repertoire of the Teatro Capranica in Rome between 1711 and 1724 see Reinhard Strohm, 'A Context for *Griselda*: the Teatro Capranica, 1711-1724', in *Alessandro Scarlatti und seine Zeit*, ed. by M. Lütolf (Bern: Haupt, 1995), pp. 79-114.

opera; here the *pseudo*-Aristotle provides, at Martello's request, 'a system [...], by which a skilful Poet may trace a drama that can be read as well as listened to'.[6]

Martello organises his discussion on poetics by following, although never mentioning, the classical distinction between parts of quantity or extension and parts of quality. Despite the non-classical character of both his much quoted advice that 'slight misunderstanding, changes of costume, written messages, portraits (all devices so suspect to your tragedians) should be held high in the esteem of your authors of *melodrammi*' and his suggestion that one should make ample use of 'the ingenious complications of the Spaniards',[7] Martello's discussion of the classical division into beginning (i.e. the first Act), middle (second Act) and end (third Act) resembles most treatises on poetics of the time. According to Martello, the overall organisation of classical drama and *dramma per musica* is almost identical, though they differ in the balance and importance assigned to their constituent parts. Like Aristotle and his commentators, Martello discusses issues regarding the subject, characters, affections, poetry, music and scenography, but denies *dramma per musica* the capability to satisfy simultaneously the classical tradition of spoken drama, the conditions of contemporary Italian operatic practice, and the ability - peculiar to tragedy - to purify the passions through the incitement of pity and fear, as he sees its purpose as limited to that of a light entertainment.

Martello's view of the role of music might appear exceptionally modern: he almost seems to suggest the possibility of the existence of a drama *through* music and not simply *with* music.[8] However, despite both his modern conception of the role of

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[6] Pier Jacopo Martello, *Della tragedia antica e moderna* (Rome, 1715), in *Pier Jacopo Martello. Scritti critici e satirici*, ed. by H.S. Noce (Bari: Laterza, 1963). Engl. tr. in Piero Weiss, 'Pier Jacopo Martello on Opera (1715): An Annotated Translation', *Musical Quarterly* 66 (1980), pp. 378-403.

[7] Weiss, 'Pier Jacopo Martello', p. 391.

[8] Martello's ideas on opera, however, are still very far from developing a definition of music dramaturgy as discussed by Carl Dahlhaus in 'What is a musical Drama?', *Cambridge Opera Journal* 1 (1989), p. 95-111; and, with more specific reference to nineteenth-century Italian opera, in 'Drammaturgia dell'opera italiana', in *Storia dell'opera italiana*, ed. by L. Bianconi and G. Pestelli, vol. 6 (Turin: EdT, 1988), p. 79-162.

music in opera and his pragmatic approach in suggesting 'practical solutions to practical problems',[9] Martello's depiction of the ideal *melodramma* is somewhat out of touch with the direction that *dramma per musica* had taken at that time. Many librettists - still largely poets and literati - had in fact begun to imitate nothing less than classical tragedy, especially French classical tragedy, that is to say they had moved in the opposite artistic direction to that promoted by Crescimbeni, Muratori and Martello himself.[10]

Classical Dramaturgy: Corneille's *Parties Intégrantes*

Librettists began to conform more closely to the rules of classical poetics and many clearly enjoyed equating themselves with dramatists by referring to Aristotle's poetics and popular French authors and works in their *Avvisi al lettore*. They went as far as imitating specific tragedies, not just the genre, and modelled their libretti on the tragedies and tragicomedies of major (and occasionally minor) dramatists.[11] If librettists considered themselves members of the same profession as the great Corneilles and Racine, then the best way to approach their libretti is - as first suggested by Reinhard Strohm in his comparative study of Apostolo Zeno's *Teuzzone* - to measure them up against the same rules governing their French colleague's dramas.[12] The task seems facilitated by the fact that Italian librettists imitated specific works, thus allowing us to compare libretti and their models side by side.

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[9] Freeman, *Opera without Drama*, p. 48.
[10] The essential steps of this unexpected shift to the model of spoken tragedy were traced by Piero Weiss in 1982. Piero Weiss, 'Teorie drammatiche e "infranciosamento": motivi della "riforma" melodrammatica nel primo settecento', in *Antonio Vivaldi: Teatro musicale, cultura e società*, ed. by L. Bianconi and G. Morelli (Florence: Olschki, 1982), pp. 273-96.
[11] See Appendix 4 for a list of libretti modelled on French and Italian dramas.
[12] Reinhard Strohm, '*Tragédie* into "Dramma per Musica"' (Part one), *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 9 (1988), pp. 14-24.

The process of tracing borrowings from spoken plays, however, is rarely straightforward and it unravels all its complexity when comparing a specific libretto not only with its theatrical source(s) (i.e. 'spoken' source), but also with the libretto-writing tradition itself. To this end, Strohm stresses the importance of comparing like with like as much as possible and suggests the use of contemporary dramatic theory as a tool for analysis. In particular, the separate analysis of the various elements constituting drama - Corneille's *parties intégrantes*[13] - stands as an invaluable starting point. It provides a grid with which to examine *dramma per musica* as a whole through the variable balance of its parts; in this framework, music may be analysed not merely in relation to the text, but also in relation to all the other components of the *dramma.*

Corneille's *parties* are the same six elements which form the basis of Aristotle's *Poetics*: *sujet* (subject), *moeurs* (ethos), *sentiments* (pathos), *diction* (poetry), *musique* (music) and *décoration* (scenography). Although the hierarchy of these parts is not clearly established by Aristotle, the absolute primacy of 'subject' followed by 'ethos' is never questioned. Corneille discusses the *parties intégrantes* in the first of the three *Discours* of 1660, within a discussion of dramatic poem, its purpose and genres. Verisimilitude and the three unities are examined, respectively, in the other two *discours.*[14]

All six *parties* contribute in their own way towards the achievement of the main objective of tragedy: that of pleasure stemming from both the arousal of pity and fear, and from the catharsis of passions, in the belief that the state of extreme misfortune in which the characters of the drama are plunged (the 'effect') can be avoided by eliminating the 'cause' (the extreme passions) that originated it. The necessity of

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[13] Pierre Corneille, 'Discours de l'utilité et des parties du poème dramatique', in P. Corneille, *OEuvres complètes*, ed. by A. Stegmann (Paris: Seuil, 1963) pp. 821-30.
[14] P. Corneille, 'Discours de la tragédie et des moyens de la traiter selon le vraisemblable ou le nécessaire', pp. 830-40; and 'Discours des trois unités d'action, de jour, et de lieu', pp. 841-46.

stirring the affections comes from the acknowledgement of the fact that the audience is able to experience the same affections and is subject to the same passions as those depicted on stage, while they might not share the same noble status as the characters of tragedy and never come to experience the terrible events represented. The affections are the ultimate element that allows the spectator to take sides with the *dramatis personae*.

Corneille fundamentally agrees with the means which Aristotle suggested to arouse pity, in particular with the choice of *dramatis personae* who are neither completely virtuous nor completely wicked. Nevertheless, he recognises the practical difficulty of combining the incitement of pity and fear with the purgation of the passions, as well as grasping the type of pleasure derived, for example, from the pity aroused by the vicissitudes of two unfortunate lovers. In fact, the entire seventeenth century was attracted by this kind of pleasure, namely the pleasure that comes from being moved to tears.

Jean-Jacques Roubine, in his study of 1973, 'La stratégie des larmes', has investigated the means by which the dramatist fulfilled the audience's desire for tears.[15] Besides Aristotle's suggestions translated into the themes of *l'innocence persécutée* and, even more efficacious, of *la culpabilité involontaire*, Roubine has underlined the fundamental differences between the strategies of the *éblouissement* - peculiar to Baroque aesthetics and associated with opera - and of the *effusion*. The first is based on the effect of surprise and is, by its very nature, brief and abrupt. The second comprises not only a moderate swing between sadness and joy,[16] but also the principles of *continuité* and *culmination*, so that tears would be 'délicieusement préparées, retardées, attendues [...]'.[17]

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[15] Jean-Jacques Roubine, 'La stratégie des larmes au XVIIe siècle', *Littérature* 9 (1973), pp. 56-73.
[16] Compare also Descartes, *Traité des passions de l'âme*, art. 128 (1649): 'Les larmes ne viennent point d'une extrême tristesse, mais seulement de celle qui est médiocre et accompagnée ou suivie de quelque sentiment d'amour, ou aussi de joie'; quoted here after Roubine, p. 71.
[17] Roubine, 'La stratégie des larmes au XVIIe siècle', p. 70.

The *sujet* is the prime element of tragedy and the only one directly submitted to the rules of poetics. The other elements depend on other disciplines: *moeurs* on ethics, *sentiments* on rhetoric, *diction* on grammar and partly on rhetoric, *musique* on music, *décoration* on painting, architecture and perspective. With reference to the organisation of the action, Corneille discusses all the precepts of classical dramaturgy: the division into beginning (*exposition*), middle (*noeud*) and end (*dénouement*), the balance and length of these parts, the obstacles and peripeteias, the *liaison* of actions and of scenes, the *vraisemblable* (distinguishing between *vrai*, *vraisemblable* and *nécessaire*) and the unity of action, the unity of time and, as a derivation of the latter, the unity of place. The *liaison des scènes*, a rule for D'Aubignac and for many other contemporary dramatists, is conceived by Corneille as an ornament, an aid to the *liaison* of actions already advocated by Aristotle.[18] It is linked to the practical need to regulate the actor's presence and absence on stage[19] as well as to motivate his/her verbal actions. Corneille writes:

> Ce n'est pas que je veuille dire que quand un acteur parle seul, il ne puisse instruire l'auditeur de beaucoup de choses; mais il faut que ce soit par les sentiments d'une passion qui l'agite, et non pas par une simple narration.[20]

And, with specific reference to the role of ethos and moral maxims in tragedy as propellers of the action:

> [...] les moeurs ne sont pas seulement le principe des actions, mais aussi du raisonnement. [...] les actions sont l'âme de la tragédie, où l'on ne doit parler qu'en agissant et pour agir.[21]

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[18] 'La liaison des scènes qui unit toutes les actions particulières de chaque acte l'une avec l'autre [...] est un grand ornement dans un poème, et qui sert beaucoup à former une continuité de la représentation; mais enfin ce n'est qu'un ornement et non pas une règle.' (Corneille, 'Discours des trois unités', p. 841).
[19] 'Il faut, s'il se peut, y rendre raison de l'entrée et de la sortie de chaque acteur; surtout pour la sortie je tiens cette règle indispensable, et il n'y a rien de si mauvaise grâce qu'un acteur qui se retire du théâtre seulement parce qu'il n'a plus de vers à dire.' (Ibid., p. 843).
[20] Corneille, 'Discours de l'utilité et des parties du poème dramatique', p. 828.
[21] Ibid., p. 827.

These statements can also help interpret D'Aubignac's obscure statement 'Parler, c'est agir', to which I shall return later.[22]

Following Aristotle, Corneille also discusses the best types of plot for a tragedy (according to 'knowing' or 'not knowing' and 'acting' or 'not acting') and includes a new possibility: 'not being able to act', which he defines as 'une tragédie d'un genre peut-être plus sublime que les trois qu'Aristote avoue'.[23] Corneille then provides a convincing clarification of Aristotle's outline of ethos (*moeurs*). *Moeurs* ought not only to be *convenables* (appropriate: the poet should take into account the age, status and provenance of the character) and *semblables* (similar to its historical or mythical model), but also *égales* (unchangeable from the beginning to the end of the drama) - a quality that invalidates any attempt to look for any sort of 'development' of the characters not only in classical drama, but also in *dramma per musica* - and *bonnes* (*grand*). To explain Aristotle's problematic *chrestos*[24] (*bonnes*), he introduces the concept of *grandeur d'âme* as 'quelque chose de si haut, qu'en même temps qu'on déteste ses actions, on admire la source dont elles partent', a concept that takes us back to the quarrel over *Le Cid* and the alleged 'immorality' of its characters thirty years earlier.[25] Besides the infringement of the Aristotelian rules, the charge of immorality of the *dramatis personae* was, in fact, at the core of George de Scudéry's fierce *Observations sur Le Cid* (1637) and Jean Chapelain's *Sentiments de l'Académie française sur Le Cid* (1637). These ideas were revived once more by D'Aubignac's *La*

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[22] François Hédelin Abbé d'Aubignac, *La pratique du théâtre* (Paris: A. de Sommaville, 1657), ed. by Martino (Algiers: Jules Carbonnel, 1927), p. 282-3.
[23] Corneille, 'Discours de la tragédie', p. 834.
[24] Diego Lanza, *Aristotele: Poetica* (Milan: Biblioteca Universale Rizzoli, 1994), translates *chrestos* with 'efficace' (efficacious) and points out that the term is also used by Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* with the meaning of 'virtuous'. H.T. Barnwell, *Pierre Corneille: Writings on the Theatre* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), underlines the fact that this passage from the *Poetics* was indeed the source of many difficulties of interpretation throughout the Renaissance and seventeenth century.
[25] These same allegations were to be made by D'Aubignac against *Sophonisbe*, three years after the publication of Corneille's *Discours*.

Pratique (1657) and gave the final impulse to Corneille's formal organisation of his dramatic thought.

Ars Oratoria and Verbal Action

In his *Poetics*, Aristotle does not discuss music, scenography or thought (pathos or affections). Aristotle explains:

> As far as the Thought, we may assume what is said of it in our Art of Rhetoric, as it belongs more properly to that department of inquiry. The Thought of the personages is shown in everything to be effected by their language - in every effort to prove or disprove, to arouse emotion (pity, fear, anger, and the like), or to maximise or minimize things.[26]

From these statements we can infer that a study of the affections and the means utilised by dramatists (and librettists) to stir up tears, and, more generally, to keep the audience's interest alive, cannot ignore rhetorical analysis: not so much the analysis of rhetorical figures (the *Elocutio*, which Aristotle and his commentators instead linked more to the element of *Diction*), as the study of the choice and organisation of the various arguments within the speech (*Inventio* and *Dispositio*). As we know, rhetoric formed part of formal teaching in schools and colleges from Antiquity up until about 1800; it has provided the tools for good and effective composition of texts, including dramatic texts, for centuries and can, therefore, be used today as a tool for the analysis of these same texts. Besides, one should not forget that a contemporary reference to the

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[26] Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1456a 34-1456b 4 (Translation by Ingram Bywater, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920). In his commentary of the *Poetics*, Lanza refers to *Ethica Nicomachea* 1105b 21 for a kind of catalogue of emotions and explains that the last two terms are usually understood as 'amplification' and 'reduction', or even better, 'praise' and 'blame'. He also refers to ancient sources confirming the facts that many famous dramatists of the time (IV cent.) were also popular rhetoricians.

affections is not usually a reference to the irrational, but to a theory which, with Descartes, had affirmed the physiological nature of passions.[27]

The impact of rhetoric on French seventeenth-century tragedies, especially on those of Racine, has been thoroughly assessed by French theatre historians. But of the five parts constituting the *Ars oratoria - Inventio, Dispositio, Elocutio, Memoria, Actio* (*Pronuntiatio*) - *Elocutio*, the theory of stylistic ornament (the rhetorical figures), has often been granted a privileged place and has even been identified with rhetoric *tout court*. More recently and systematically for Racine's *oeuvre*, Michael Hawcroft - whose rhetorical analysis of Racine's tragedies has been a valuable stimulus to my own research - has turned his attention to *Inventio* and *Dispositio*.[28] Hawcroft focused on the issue of persuasive action in classical tragedy both of the characters on each other and of the dramatist on the public, and, more generally, on the ways in which the dramatist succeeded in keeping the spectators' attention alive throughout the performance. After reviewing the diverse meaning of the term *action*, Hawcroft identifies verbal action as the core of Racine's and his contemporaries' dramatic technique. D'Aubignac's important statement 'Parler c'est agir' is then interpreted as a specific reference to this quality of speech, by which 'characters' words constitute actions in that, most often, they are performing acts of persuasion'.[29] And it was exactly

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[27] Descartes, *Les passions de l'âme* (1649), ed by Geneviève Rodis-Lewis (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1955).

[28] Michael Hawcroft, *Word as Action: Racine, Rhetoric, and Theatrical Language* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). Hawcroft makes reference to Jean-Louis Backès, *Racine* (Paris: Seuil, 1981) and in particular to the influential studies by Aron Kibédi-Varga as inspirational for his rhetorical approach to Racine.

[29] Ibid., p. 10. Hawcroft explains the difference between d'Aubignac's concise statement 'Parler c'est agir' (and Corneille's reference to it in his *Discours*) and Speech Act Theory as elaborated by twentieth-century philosophers (for example: J.L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, ed. J.O Urmson and M. Sbisà, Oxford, 1975; J.R. Searle, *Speech Acts*, Cambridge, 1969; and, with particular reference to the application of the theory to the analysis of drama, K. Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama*, London, 1980, pp. 156-91; and R.E. Goodkin, 'The Performed Letter, or, How Words Do Things in Racine', *Papers in French Seventeenth-Century Literature* 17 (1990), pp. 85-102). According to Speech Act Theory, any verbal utterance can be considered as a speech act and understood as a command, a question, a promise and so forth, regardless of its effect (or non-effect) on the hearer. D'Aubignac and Corneille refer to a particular quality of speech which relates and is directed towards action: persuasive action (Hawcroft, p. 20-4).

the ability to articulate one persuasive action after another, and to see whether the outcome be successful or unsuccessful, that would keep the spectators' interest alive throughout the performance. A similar approach to the study of *dramma per musica* would certainly benefit the understanding of a genre which, like French drama, was highly conscious of its spectators' desire to be entertained.

The *Ars oratoria* had two objectives - to move and to convince: to convince about the course of action to be taken in deliberative discourse, about the guilt or innocence of the accused in judicial or forensic discourse and about the virtue or the baseness of anyone in demonstrative or epideictic speech. In order to achieve these objectives the orator would draw arguments from three sources: *Mores*, *Affectus* and *Probationes (inartificiales* and *artificiales*). The field of the *probationes artificiales* included the *loci topici.* By the seventeenth century the *loci topici* had already become a kind of reservoir from which orators and writers would draw their arguments and ideas that could be utilised in any speech. Apparently Aristotle had thought of it more as a methodology, a route that could help the orator in his search for arguments.[30] The *Inventio* was the section concerned with finding - certainly not inventing anew - and elaborating the arguments ('what to say').

The arguments thereafter had to be clearly organised within the speech ('where to say it' and 'when to say it'). The line dividing *Inventio* and *Dispositio* has never been clearly drawn and even the parts into which the latter has been traditionally divided have never been fixed. Aristotle distinguished between four parts: *Exordium*, *Narratio*, *Confirmatio* and *Epilogus* (or *Peroratio*). The two objectives, to move and to convince, were both sought almost simultaneously by the orator who, while providing the evidence, had to gain favour and sympathy from the audience. The *narratio*, for example, which had to report the bare facts clearly and concisely, could be enriched

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[30] Cfr. Roland Barthes, *La retorica antica: Alle origini del linguaggio letterario e delle tecniche di comunicazione*, It. tr. by P. Fabbri (Milan: Bompiani, 1972, R 1994), p. 76 ['L'ancienne rhétorique', *Communications* 16 (1970), pp. 172-229].

with detailed images of terrible events of the past (*hypotyposis*) in order to arouse the emotions. The *exordium* (in particular the *captatio benevolentiae*), and the *peroratio* (in particular the final section, after the recapitulation of the main argument), however, were the parts in which the orator appealed to the emotions more systematically.

After finding, developing and organising the arguments into a coherent whole, the art of rhetoric provided guidelines for expressing these arguments effectively (*elocutio*: 'how to say it').[31] I shall not endeavour to approach the insidious subject of the classification of rhetorical figures - a classification that has engaged rhetoricians for centuries. The identification of rhetorical figures will, in fact, receive attention in my analyses only when the choice (*electio*) and the composition (*compositio*) of words seem especially relevant in view of the persuasive action of the characters and of the means utilised by the dramatist to involve the audience.

Gesture and Stage Deportment

Actio, the part concerned with the effective enunciation of the speech as far as tone of voice, speed of delivery and gesture is concerned, has been placed under the spotlight by scholars of theatre and acting technique, rather than by rhetoricians, because of its manifest link to stage practices. In particular, Dene Barnett has devoted much of his career to the study of gesture and movement on stage, and published a fundamental book in 1987, *The Art of Gesture*.[32]

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[31] An example of the possible ways in which the orator could form his/her arguments through *ratiocinatio* (syllogistic reasoning) and *inductio* (inductive reasoning), is given in Chapter 6. See, in particular, the analysis of Oreste's embassy in Salvi's *Astinatte* based on Michael Hawcroft's rhetorical analysis of Racine's corresponding scene in *Andromaque* in *Word as Action*, pp. 83-91.

[32] Dene Barnett, *The Art of Gesture: The Practices and Principles of 18th Century Acting* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987); id., 'La Vitesse de la Déclamation au Théâtre (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)', *Dix-septième siècle* 128 (1980), pp. 319-26. See also A. Grear, *Rhetoric and the Art of the French Tragic Actor (1620-1750): The Place of Pronuntiatio in the Stage Tradition* (Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of St.Andrews, 1982).

The principles of eighteenth-century acting, as discussed by Barnett, were accepted and proven techniques shared by the entire European theatre of the time. The sources that he gathered - annotated prompters' copies, singers' parts, conductors' scores and descriptions by actors, singers, teachers and dramaturges - are mainly of French, German, English and Dutch provenance; in particular, stage directions found in theatrical texts constitute valuable evidence of the utilisation of codified gestures and stage movements. Pierre Corneille had clearly stated the dual purpose of these directions in his *Discours*:

> Aristote veut que la tragédie bien faite soit belle et capable de plaire sans le secours des comédiens, et hors de la représentation. Pour faciliter ce plaisir au lecteur, il ne faut non plus gêner son esprit que celui du spectateur, parce que l'effort qu'il est obligé de se faire pour la concevoir et se la représenter lui-même dans son esprit diminue la satisfaction qu'il en doit recevoir. Ainsi je serais d'avis que le poète prît grand soin de marquer à la marge les menues actions qui ne méritent pas qu'il en charge ses vers, et qui leur ôteraient même quelque chose de leur dignité, s'il se ravalait à les exprimer. Le comédien y supplée aisément sur le théâtre; mais sur le livre on serait assez souvent réduit à deviner, et quelquefois même on pourrait deviner mal, à moins que d'être instruit par là de ces petites choses.

And continues:

> Nous avons encore une autre raison particulière de ne pas négliger ce petit secours comme ils ont fait. C'est que l'impression met nos pièces entre les mains des comédiens qui courent les provinces, que nous ne pouvons avertir que par là de ce qu'ils ont à faire, et qui feraient d'étranges contre-temps, si nous ne leur aidions par ces notes.[33]

Such annotations are also frequently found in printed opera libretti.[34] By contrast, they are much rarer in music scores; where extant, these can be of extreme interest as they

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[33] Corneille, 'Discours des trois unités d'action, de jour, et de lieu', p. 843.

[34] For a detailed account of the significance of stage directions with reference to Metastasio see Elena Sala Di Felice, 'L'ordine della parola: Ideologia, drammaturgia, spettacolo in Metastasio' (in particular Part 4, 'Il poeta pedagogo: la didascalia') in *Metastasio: Ideologia, drammaturgia, spettacolo* (Milan: Franco Angeli Editore, 1983), and Jacques Joly, 'Le didascalie per la recitazione nei drammi metastasiani', in *Dagli Elisi all'inferno: Il melodramma tra Italia e Francia dal 1730 al 1850* (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1990), pp. 95-111.

might provide concrete evidence of singers' gestures and stage movements not contained in the libretto. One rare example is the *Engelberta* manuscript score for Milan (1708), in which numerous stage directions, absent from the libretto, are concentrated inside scenes where gesture is necessary in order to implement the ambiguity of the text.[35]

The sources gathered by Barnett show that actors were using a common vocabulary of basic gestures, which had a specific meaning and tended to illustrate the short phrases rather than long passages. According to Barnett, the basic gestures were classified as follows:[36]

> Indicative gestures: pointing by means of a gesture or posture to an object, a place, a person or an event.
>
> Imitative gestures (to bring before the eyes): a movement or posture used to depict some feature such as the size or speed of an object or person, or event by imitating that feature.
>
> Expressive gestures: an attitude or movement used to represent a passion of the character being portrayed. For expressive gestures, the face was the principal instrument.
>
> Gesture of Address: an attitude or movement in which the eyes, face, hands or body are directed towards another person in order to indicate that it is he who is being addressed.
>
> Gesture of Emphasis: a movement made to emphasise an idea, a word or a syllable.
>
> Commencing gestures: a raising of the hand (or eyes) to announce the commencement of a speech or a period.
>
> Terminating gestures: a lowering of the hand (or eyes) to announce the termination of a speech or period.

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[35] For a discussion of the *dramma per musica Engelberta* see Chapter 3, '*Commedia dell'arte* and *Dramma per Musica*: A Comparative Study of a *Scenario* and a *Dramma per Musica*'.
[36] The following classification and definitions of basic gestures are quoted from Dene Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*, p. 27-8.

> Complex gestures: Each of the basic gestures had an individual meaning which was known to actors and spectators alike. Some gestures could, however, express two or more ideas at the same time, such as a gesture of emphasis performed violently not only to emphasise a word, but also to express impatience or rage. Similarly a gesture of address could be performed cajolingly or imperiously, so that it would also express flattery or pride.

Through a highly refined technique the actor was able to intensify the expression of passions; his intelligence and taste could advise him of the rhetorical interpretation of the text and, consequently, of the parts to emphasise and clarify through the choice of appropriate gesture. 'Like the text which it complemented', Barnett observes, 'the art of gesture was detailed; its basic gestures were distinct and discrete, but elegantly linked together, they proceeded in ordered and coherent sequence, like any good discourse.'.[37]

Although, at present, we have no specific documents describing the training that Italian singers might have received in acting, there is sufficient evidence about their ability to move on stage, as well as their use of postures and gestures similar to those known to have been utilised by contemporary actors. The actor Colley Cibber, for example, reports a eulogy of the Italian singer Nicolini for his achievement of pictorial beauty in his postures:

> Nicolini sets off the Character he bears in an opera, by his action, as much as he does the Words of it, by his Voice; every Limb, and Finger, contributes to the Part he acts, insomuch that a deaf man might go along with him in the Sense of it. There is scarce a beautiful Posture, in an old Statue, which he does not plant himself in, as the different Circumstances of the Story give occasion for it. He performs the most ordinary Action, in a manner suitable to the Greatness of his Character, and shews the Prince, even in the giving of a Letter, or dispatching of a message, etc.[38]

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[37] Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*, p. 18.

[38] Colley Cibber (1671-1757), *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber, Comedian, and Late Patentee of the Theatre-Royal. With an Historical View of the Stage during his Own Time* (London, 1740), p. 225. Quoted here after Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*, p. 127.

Strangely enough, Barnett does not mention a very popular Italian treatise published at the end of the seventeenth century: Andrea Perrucci's *Dell'arte rappresentativa ed all'improvviso* (Naples, 1699).[39] Perrucci's manual, which will be discussed at length in Chapter Two, provides invaluable information about seventeenth- and eighteenth-century acting and improvisation techniques and unravels a picture of the Italian actor and singer in marked agreement with the precepts that emerge from the study of other contemporary and older European sources.

As far as the position of the actors on stage is concerned, the analysis of prompters' copies and other annotated texts of mainly French origin shows that this was determined by the rank of the personages and was dominated by the rules of court etiquette:

> a) with two on stage, persons of quality, and ladies, took the position on stage-right
>
> b) with three or more on stage, the person of quality took the central position, or the stage-right position.
>
> c) female confidants commonly took the position of precedence on stage-right when alone on stage with their princess or queen
>
> d) male confidants could find themselves on either side
>
> e) characters who were silent in a scene commonly stood upstage of those who were speaking.[40]

The same rules were also in force for the staging of Italian operas. In a letter to poet Giovanni Claudio Pasquini, dated 10 February 1748 - a reply to his enquiry about the

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[39] *Dell'arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all'improvviso. Parti due* [...] *del dottor Andrea Perrucci* [...] (Naples: M.L. Mutio, 1699). The rare treatise has been reprinted by A.G. Bragaglia (ed.), *Andrea Perrucci. Dell'arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all'improvviso* (1699) (Florence, Edizioni Sansoni Antiquariato, 1961) (Nuovi testi e rari, vol. 10).
[40] Barnett, *The Art of Gesture*, p. 424.

production of *Demofoonte* - Metastasio drew explicit diagrams showing the position of the characters on stage.

As there was little movement on stage, especially during the singing of arias, any change of position had to occur for a purpose, such as to approach someone to address him/her, to kneel before someone, to give or receive something, to embrace someone or to obey an order to stand apart.[41] The singing also frequently required a change of position on stage. In the aforementioned letter of 10 February, Metastasio wrote explicitly 'Demofoonte, per l'aria, può passare in mezzo' (Demofoonte, for the aria, can step into the middle).[42] The proscenium was, in fact, the most favourable position for the singer to project his or her voice to the audience.[43] Another letter, this time in reply to singer Marianna Benti Bulgarelli about the production of *Demetrio*, confirms Metastasio's concern with acoustical problems:

> In detta scena il trono deve stare, secondo il solito, a destra e deve avere da' lati quattro sedili [...]. Due altri somiglianti sedili debbono esser situati in faccia al trono, dalla parte del secondo cembalo, ma più vicino all'orchestra che sia possibile.[44]

It is likely that musical composition somehow responded to movement on stage and to the spatial images created by gestures. Music, for example, could easily imitate the movements of the arms and hands as well as the eyes which were so important in

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[41] Ibid., p. 426.

[42] Letter to Giovanni Claudio Pasquini at Dresden dated Vienna 10 February 1748, in *Tutte le opere di Pietro Metastasio*, ed. by Bruno Brunelli (Milan: Mondadori, 1951), Vol. 3, pp. 337-40.

[43] Pierluigi Petrobelli, 'Lo spazio e l'azione scenica nell'opera seria settecentesca', in *Illusione e pratica teatrale* (Venice: Neri Pozza Editore, 1975), pp. 25-30; Sven H. Hansell, 'Stage Deportment and Scenographic Design in the Italian Opera Seria of the Settecento', in *Report of the 11th Congress of the International Musicological Society Copenhagen 1972*, I, ed. by H. Glahn, S. Sorensen and P. Ryom (Copenhagen: Hansen, 1974), pp. 415-19. Both Petrobelli and Hansell quote from the important 1676 treatise by Carini-Motta, *Trattato sopra la struttura de' teatri e scene*, ed. by Edward A. Craig (Milan, 1972).

[44] 'In this scene the throne must be placed, as usual, on the right hand side and must have four seats next to it [...]. Two similar seats must be placed opposite the throne, on the side of [the stage closest to] the second harpsichord, but as near to the orchestra as possible'. Letter from Metastasio to Marianna Benti Bulgarelli dated 1732 quoted in Petrobelli, 'Lo spazio e l'azione scenica nell'opera seria settecentesca'.

seventeenth- and eighteenth-century acting. Reinhard Strohm has already made the first step towards the application of eighteenth-century classification of gestures given above to their musical expression in his study of Handel's *Arianna*.[45] Strohm relates the recurrent rhythmic and melodic isolation of personal pronouns, indications of place and metaphorical place-names in eighteenth-century opera to the performance of indicative gestures, and links 'imitative' gestures and musically-imitative figures. He finally suggests a classification of musical expression that parallels the gestural one formulated by Barnett:

> Indicative-declamatory music, analogous to indicative gestures: isolation and demonstration of, above all, the verbal structure and its recitation on stage.
>
> Imitative-illustrative music, analogous to imitative gestures: translation of concepts into visual metaphors, for which musical analogies are available.
>
> Expressive music, partly analogous to expressive gestures: either recourse to the imitation of spatial metaphors, or the use of semantic conventions attached to abstract musical devices.[46]

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[45] Reinhard Strohm, 'Zur musikalischen Dramaturgie von *Arianna in Creta*', in *Gattungskonventionen der Händel-Oper. Bericht über die Symposien 1990 und 1991*, ed. by H.J. Marx (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1992), pp. 171-88; now as '*Arianna in Creta*: musical dramaturgy', in *Dramma per Musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 220-36.

[46] Strohm, '*Arianna in Creta*: musical dramaturgy', p. 226.

Rhetoric as Tool for Dramaturgical and Musical Analysis

A systematic examination of the relationship between music and rhetoric would lead us well beyond the purpose and the expertise of this study. I shall instead limit myself to the investigation of the nature of this relationship through the study of specific examples and the identification of the ways in which the rhetorical framework of the text influenced the compositional process. This analysis will highlight the degree of connection between music and text, as well as between music and the other parts of the drama, and will allow us to observe the growing independence of musical discourse in relation to verbal discourse.

The transfer of terminology from rhetorical to musical figures constitutes the most evident contribution of rhetoric to musical expression and has been widely discussed, notwithstanding the failure to produce a unified system of classification.[47] But the theory of figures, often referred to by theorists in order to explain unorthodox contrapuntal procedures, seems indeed insufficient to explain the ways in which seventeenth- and eighteenth-century opera composers were able to manipulate the listener's emotions as skilfully as many contemporary observers document. It seems to me that - perhaps in search of a systematic theory which could link cause and effect unequivocally - the relationship between music and rhetoric has been reduced to the musical analogies of *elocutio* alone, thereby losing sight of the real contribution that rhetoric could offer: a strategy.

Johann David Heinichen, a distinguished German composer, Capellmeister at the court of Augustus I in Dresden, in fact supplied the opera composer with a strategy to express the affections in music in the *Einleitung* to his treatise *Der General-Bass in*

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[47] The most comprehensive attempt has been made by Hans-Heinrich Unger, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Musik und Rhetorik im 16.-18.Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1941, R Hildesheim, Zurich, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1992).

der Komposition of 1728.[48] Heinichen's treatise undoubtedly represents an important source of Baroque compositional theory; he shows thorough knowledge of the different musical traditions in Germany, France and, most importantly for the theatrical style, Italy, and can be used today to guide the analysis of that same repertoire.[49] In his discussion of Italian operatic style, Heinichen examines the musical means to imitate the affections and elicit them in the listeners; he pays attention to musical *inventio* - rather than to *decoratio* - and provides extensive examples of how rhetoric can guide the composer in finding ideas for the setting of an aria even when poetry fails to provide any. Heinichen confesses:

> I cannot deny that at times I should not have known how to write a single note in those hours when I faced an uninspiring text or also when I did not feel disposed to writing (which is a common feeling for all composers), if this craft had not served me.[50]

To this end he resorts to the *loci topici*, in particular to the *locus circumstantiarum* (*consequentia* and *antecedentia*).[51] According to the *locus circumstantiarum*, the composer in search of ideas for the musical *inventio* would look at the textual antecedent (i.e. the recitative preceding the aria in question), concomitant (the first section of the aria itself) or consequent (the second section of the aria or the recitative that follows). Heinichen refers also to other *loci* by advising the composer to take great

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[48] Johann David Heinichen, *Der Generalbaß in der Komposition* (Dresden, 1728), ed. and trans. by George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1986).

[49] Heinichen worked in Italy between 1710 and 1717, when he left Venice to enter the court of Dresden. His *drammi per musica Mario* (*Calphurnia, oder die römische Grossmut*, Hamburg, 1716) and *Le passioni per troppo amore* were produced at the Teatro Sant'Angelo during the carnival season of 1713. Both were met with acclaim by the Venetian public, confirming Heinichen's familiarity with the Italian theatrical style.

[50] Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment*, p. 331n

[51] This terminology refers to the classification of the *loci* made by Cicero. According to Hawcroft, *Word as Action*, the sixteen *loci* listed by Cicero were those most commonly adduced in seventeenth-century France.

heed of 'the purpose of the words, including the related circumstances of persons, things, conditions, the origins, the means, purpose, time, place, etc.'[52]

From Heinichen's musical examples and comments it is possible to extract information about the points of contact and transfer between rhetoric and music, and to widen the rather narrow idea of an unequivocal correspondence between verbal and musical patterns (melodic segments, rhythmic patterns, harmonic solutions, keys). Heinichen points to specific nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs that refer directly or metaphorically to an affection, to spatial images (low, high etc.), to temporal images (slow, fast etc.) and to verbs that imply change of physical state (to seek, to fly, to cry, to sigh, to laugh etc.) - words which can then be more easily transferred into music. Heinichen obviously refers to the theory of the affections, which rests on the Cartesian inquiry into the physiological nature of the passions and their classification. It is therefore possible to identify three procedures that summarise Heinichen's utilisation of rhetorical strategies as far as musical *inventio* is concerned:

Imitation. Possibly the most common approach to text, according to which the melodic-rhythmic contour of a musical figure imitates movement, position in space, speed of the object or person in question. A reference to the action of running, for example, finds its equivalent in a fast-moving bass; words indicating height or depth correspond to high or low pitches; questions are rendered in music by concluding a step higher than the penultimate syllable to imitate the natural rising of the voice, and so on.

Emphasis. Certain words in the text receive particular emphasis by means of *colorature*, isolation, or through the use of unison techniques. Virtually any imitative and expressive figure can be used to stress certain words.

Expression.[53] Dissonances, sudden changes of key, the use of unison, of *sordini* or of certain registers (or instruments), the overall design of the bass line, the texture of the accompaniment, the contour of the melodic line or the choice of a specific dance

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[52] Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment*, p. 330.

[53] This procedure can often be reduced to Imitation. It is important, however, to distinguish between imitation of an object and its movement and imitation of the physical state of a person that accompanies the manifestation of emotions.

form,[54] can all contribute to the translation of a specific emotional state into music. This can be achieved either through the imitation of the physical response to that emotion (a bass line characterised by fast repeated notes, a repeatedly broken melodic line, dissonances and increasing diminutions imitate the physical agitation associated with a general state of anxiety and maybe even induce the acceleration of the heartbeat in the listener) or by the musical concretisation of the passion itself through a whole piece of coherent structure, as with the use of a specific dance form like the *siciliana.*

Heinichen does not proceed any further by discussing, in accordance with the principles of *inventio*, the art of developing the main musical idea(s) and of generating related ideas. His aim is merely to provide an aid to composers to help them in a process, the creation of musical ideas, that cannot be taught. It was, in fact, Johann Mattheson who was the first to develop a complete theory of musical composition within a rhetorical framework. Mattheson discusses musical phrase-structure on the basis of rhetorical and grammatical terms (*periodus*, *paragraphus*, and others) and makes specific reference to *exordium, narratio, propositio, confirmatio, confutatio* and *peroratio* - the parts constituting the *dispositio* - in his analysis of the ordering of these sections and elements in longer musical phrases or the entire work.[55]

I shall not enter into the rather controversial issues regarding the more or less strict applications of such principles to musical composition and analysis nor tackle issues of form; what interests me most is not the formulation of a theory of musical form based on rhetorical principles,[56] but rather, the identification and evaluation of rhetorical tools in the dramaturgical and musical organisation of *dramma per musica* and its parts. In this framework, the aria - the element which most embarrassed those

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[54] Heinichen gives the example of the *Siciliana* as 'a form of composition willingly expressing languid thoughts'.

[55] Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739). Facsim. ed. by M. Reimann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954). Engl. tr. by Ernst C. Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister: A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981).

[56] An interesting, although not completely convincing attempt with particular regard to Sonata form has been made by Mark Evan Bonds, *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London: Harvard University Press, 1991).

who wished to justify the whole genre - would be fulfilling a specific rhetorical function.

On the level of dramaturgy, the identification of an *exordium*, *narratio* and so forth could be made through the analysis of the persuasive action either of one single character throughout the entire opera, or of more than one character in a passage extending over a number of scenes. In my opinion, the second possibility appears more conducive to an analysis that wishes to take into account the various dramatic parts; in particular, it would make the evaluation of the function of the aria possible and contribute further to demolish the cliché that sees the aria as only a lyrical pause within the action (which would be carried forward only in the recitatives).[57] Only when the aria's dramaturgical weight in the scene has been acknowledged will the rhetorical analysis of musical *dispositio* concern itself with the single aria or recitative and confront the poetical and musical means that allow the aria to achieve its objective, measuring, at the same time, the degree of autonomy of musical from poetic discourse. Here, issues of musical form could indeed play a role; I shall, however, limit my observations to cases in which the da capo form is avoided or where the da capo structure seems to play a specific role in the dramaturgical and rhetorical framework.

In synthesis, once the 'what to say' is established, i.e. the identification of the chosen poetic and musical ideas for the *inventio*, my analysis will move on to the *dispositio*, i.e. 'who says it' (the character and even the instrumental part or the scenery), 'when he says it', 'where he says it', with reference to the physical and musical place - whether in the recitative or in the aria - and finally, 'how he says it' (*elocutio*).

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[57] In numerous studies, Reinhard Strohm has pointed towards examples in which arias did not express affections, and had a clear dramaturgical function within the scene. See, for example, 'Händel-Oper und Regeldrama', in *Zur Dramaturgie der Barockoper: Bericht über die Symposien 1992 und 1993*, ed. by H.J. Marx (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1994) (Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Händel-Akademie, vol. 5), pp. 33-54.

The historical and analytical inquiry that follows in the ensuing chapters applies the ideas discussed here to the study of six *drammi per musica*. The combination of the rhetorical and theatrical perspectives will allow a better insight into what is often considered a hopeless attempt of many librettists and composers to combine success on stage with literary fulfilment. The comparative approach of this study will take into consideration the conventions which, according to the librettists themselves, hindered the creation of a 'perfect' drama, and will help determine whether these belonged specifically to *dramma per musica* or, rather, to the entire *teatro italiano*. However, while it is often possible to establish direct links between a particular libretto and its sources for *drammi per musica* derived from French classical dramas or Italian tragedies of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, when we come to the case of operas that refer to the tradition of *commedia dell'arte* - the area of influence which, owing to its ephemeral nature, is the most problematic one - we can only speak in terms of 'similarities', 'analogies' and 'influences'.

Chapter 2

Commedia dell'Arte and *Dramma per Musica*

Opera and *commedia dell'arte* dominated professional theatrical activity in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Italy. Often in competition with opera, *commedia dell'arte* catered for both public and court entertainment throughout the country, offering performances of comedies and pastorals as well as tragedies and tragicomedies *all'improvviso*. The historical connections between the practices of opera and *commedia* have frequently been highlighted by theatre historians.[1] Only a relatively small number of musicologists, however, have included the results of these studies in their own musicological research to further our understanding of the dramaturgy of *dramma per musica*.[2] Moreover, while the common ground between seventeenth-century opera and *commedia dell'arte*, and between eighteenth-century comic opera and *commedia* has been the subject of musicological research, eighteenth-century *opera seria* has generally been considered exempt from *commedia dell'arte* influences. This assumption may have been based on the belief that *commedia dell'arte* was identified with improvised comedy alone, and not, more generally, with a practice that included most theatrical genres and depended on literary theatre.[3]

The practice of *commedia dell'arte* is indeed a very problematic area of investigation, as the ephemeral nature of the *comici*'s performances and the dramaturgical and stylistical diversity of their *scenari* prevent any attempt at systematic

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[1] See, for example, Benedetto Croce, *I teatri di Napoli* (Naples: Luigi Pierro, 1891) and Heinz Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas*, vol. 3, *Theater der Barockzeit* (Salzburg: Müller, 1959).

[2] Gloria Staffieri's observations are particularly stimulating: 'Lo scenario nell'opera in musica del XVII secolo', in *Le parole della musica: Studi sul lessico della letteratura critica del teatro musicale in onore di Gianfranco Folena*, ed. by M.T. Muraro (Florence: Olschki, 1995), pp. 3-31.

[3] The actor Luigi Riccoboni, who revived classicist tragedy on the Italian stage and championed written drama against the exhausted practice of improvisation, was himself a *comico dell'arte*.

analysis.[4] Against the background of more conclusive evidence of historical connections between the two traditions, I shall nevertheless attempt a first assessment of the extent of these relationships through a comparative analysis of dramaturgy and performing techniques.[5] A closer look at the improvisation techniques of the *comici dell'arte* as well as their language, manipulations of space and time and their use of the stage and character groupings, will clarify particular aspects of the dramaturgy of *dramma per musica* which have hitherto appeared somewhat obscure.

Among musicologists, Nino Pirrotta was the first to seriously take into consideration the relationship between *commedia dell'arte* and opera and to point out the similarities between the organisation of travelling troupes of *comici dell'arte* and those of singers responsible for the spread of this new form of entertainment during the first half of the seventeenth century.[6] This fundamental aspect of the early stages of opera development received full attention by Lorenzo Bianconi and Thomas Walker in their article 'Dalla *Finta pazza* alla *Veremonda*: Storie di Febiarmonici'.[7] Pirrotta underlined the mingling of musicians with comedians, reporting the case of Orlando di Lasso, who participated in the *recita improvvisa* of *La cortigiana innamorata* in Munich in 1568 and of the

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[4] A concise definition of *scenario* or *canovaccio* is given by Italian *commedia dell'arte* scholar Ludovico Zorzi, 'Intorno alla Commedia dell'Arte', in *Arte della maschera nella Commedia dell'Arte* (Florence: La Casa Usher, 1983), pp. 63-73: 'Il Canovaccio è, in sostanza, una descrizione progressiva dell'azione scenica, attuata mediante uno speciale tipo di scrittura (metascrittura, appunto), che prescinde dalla redazione di un dialogo da assegnare ai vari personaggi e da mandare a memoria da parte degli interpreti' (p. 67). 'The *Canovaccio* is, substantially, a progressive description of the scenic action by means of a special kind of writing (i.e. *metascrittura*), which forgoes the wording of a dialogue to be allotted to the various characters and to be memorised by the performers'.

[5] Only a very limited number of scholars have attempted to relate opera and *commedia* composition and performing techniques; see Gloria Staffieri, 'Lo scenario nell'opera in musica del XVII secolo', in *Le parole della musica: Studi sul lessico della letteratura critica del teatro musicale in onore di Gianfranco Folena*, ed. by M.T. Muraro (Florence: Olschki, 1995), pp. 3-31; and Marcello Conati, 'Musica e comici nella seconda metà del Cinquecento: il "canto in commedia"', in *Origini della Commedia Improvvisa o dell'Arte* (Rome: Torre d'Orfeo, 1996), pp. 329-43.

[6] Nino Pirrotta 'Commedia dell'arte and opera', *Musical Quarterly* 41 (1955), pp. 305-24.

[7] Lorenzo Bianconi, Thomas Walker, 'Dalla *Finta pazza* alla *Veremonda*: Storie di Febiarmonici', *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 10 (1975), pp. 379-454.

actress Virginia Andreini-Ramponi, who sang the title role in Monteverdi's *Arianna* (Mantua, 1608).[8] Caterinuccia Martinelli, who was due to sing in the role of Arianna, was suddenly taken ill. The actress Virginia Andreini was in Mantua at that time with the Fedeli company to perform Guarini's *Idropica* and was asked to replace her.[9]

More recently, the combined research of theatre historian Francesco Cotticelli and musicologist Paologiovanni Maione has provided new and ample documentation about theatrical activity in Naples during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century which suggests a more consistent exchange of personnel between spoken and musical drama than hitherto assumed.[10] For example, a number of contracts recovered by Cotticelli and Maione reveal that the same *compagnia di comici* was responsible for the staging of both improvised comedies and *drammi per musica* at the Teatro dei Fiorentini in 1706.[11] Also of great interest is the case of Giulia de Caro who was active as actress, *canterina*, *capocomica* (actress-manager), impresario, as well as *puttana* - as Maione likes to underline.[12] However exceptional it might have been, the case of Giulia de Caro was not unique. An autograph letter recently discovered by Maione shows that the well known *virtuosa* Laura Monti spent her apprenticeship years among

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[8] Nino Pirrotta, 'Commedia dell'arte and opera', p. 317. Massimo Troiano, *Discorsi delli Trionfi [..].nelle sontuose Nozze dell'Ill.mo [...] Duca Guglielmo* (Munich, 1568). The *scenario La cortigiana innamorata* was by Massimo Troiano himself and it has been reprinted in Enzo Petraccone, *La Commedia dell'Arte: Storia, tecnica, scenari* (Naples: Ricciardi, 1927), pp. 297-301.

[9] Xavier de Courville, *Un apôtre de l'art du théâtre au XVIIIe siècle: Luigi Riccoboni dit Lélio* (Paris: Droz, 1943), I (1676-1715): *L'expérience italienne*, p. 315-6.

[10] Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, *Onesto divertimento, ed allegria de' popoli: Materiali per una storia dello spettacolo a Napoli nel primo Settecento* (Milan: Ricordi, 1996). See also, by the same authors, *Le istituzioni musicali a Napoli durante il viceregno austriaco (1707-1734): Materiali inediti sulla Real Cappella ed il teatro di San Bartolomeo* (Naples: Luciano, 1993).

[11] Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, *Onesto divertimento*, p. 100.

[12] Paologiovanni Maione, 'Actresses and Singers in Naples in the Second Half of the Seventeenth-Century: Giulia de Caro'. Paper delivered at the Conference 'The Commedia dell'arte: Actors and Artists', Italian Cultural Institute and Wimbledon School of Art, London, 9-10 May 1996. See also 'Giulia de Caro: da meretrice a impresario. Sul ceto delle canterine nella seconda metà del Seicento' (forthcoming).

the *comici* and continued to perform in *commedia* even after her début at the Teatro dei Fiorentini in 1722.[13]

The picture of Neapolitan dramatic activity of the second half of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century emerging from these studies cannot be extended automatically to other centres - least of all to an international operatic centre such as Venice. Indeed, until the beginning of the eighteenth century, *dramma per musica* production in Naples was characterised by a kind of 'one way' system whereby libretti were imported from outside, mainly from Venice, and arranged locally; occasionally even the original music was retained and only the *scene buffe* were added by local poets and composers. By contrast, Neapolitan *drammi per musica* (i.e.libretto and music both by local authors) rarely found their way outside Naples during the first decade of the eighteenth century.[14] It would certainly be of great interest to ascertain whether the expertise of Neapolitan singers and librettists,[15] acquired through their training as *comici* and *capocomici*, was common to other singers trained outside Naples, or rather a local and rather exceptional practice. While the exact relation between singers and *comici* outside Naples is uncertain, it is possible that the same orchestral players, in Venice just as in Naples or in Rome, were employed in all types of spectacle that included music (*commedia dell'arte* performances certainly did). Similarly, the same costumes, props and perhaps stage sets might have been available to *capocomici* and opera directors alike - at least in those theatres that alternated comedy and opera during their seasons.[16]

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[13] Maione, *Onesto divertimento, ed allegria de' popoli*, p. 114.

[14] See for example the Pratolino (nr Florence) 1709 production of Nicola Giuvo's and Nicola Fago's *Radamisto*, first performed in Naples in 1707. A brief statistical overview is in Reinhard Strohm, 'The Neapolitans in Venice', in *Con che soavità: Studies in italian Opera, Song, and Dance, 1580-1740*, ed. by I. Fenlon and T. Carter, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 249-74.

[15] See the case of Andrea Perrucci later in this chapter.

[16] The San Cassiano theatre was originally built for *commedia* and it is possible that it continued to produce spoken dramas after its opening to opera in 1639; it certainly did during the years between 1678 and 1696 under the direct management of the owners Francesco and Zuanne Tron and so did the San Moisè. Apparently even the San Luca, the principal theatre for *commedia*, used to perform operas (Nicola Mangini, *I teatri di Venezia*, Milan, Mursia, 1974). Gloria Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta: La*

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, opera in Venice, as elsewhere, had become an enormous business in which the most expensive singers were hired individually by the theatres wishing to ensure higher standards and income. According to the theatre scholar Nicola Mangini, the singer-actors of the *compagnia stabile* at the San Samuele led by Tommaso Ristori (*capocomico* and impresario between 1711 and 1714) performed in both spoken and musical roles.[17] The Ristoris' musical repertory, however, appears to have consisted not of *drammi per musica* as such, but of satires and parodies with occasional employment of incidental music. These satires in music staged by *comici* started to appear only from 1726 onwards and should not be confused with *drammi per musica*.[18] Comedians, in any case, were never expected to possess the expertise of professional singers. In the words of Carlo Goldoni, Giuseppe Imer, the *capocomico* of the San Samuele,

> Non sapea di musica; ma cantava passabilmente, ed apprendeva a orecchio la parte, l'intonazione ed il tempo, e suppliva al difetto della scienza e della voce coll'abilità personale, colle caricature degli abiti, e colla cognizion dei caratteri che sapeva ben sostenere.[19]

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vita musicale romana negli 'Avvisi Marescotti' (1683-1707) (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1990) (Musicalia, vol. 1) confirms, as far as Rome is concerned, that many theatrical spaces were shared by *commedia* and opera.

[17] With reference to theatrical activity at the San Samuele in those years, Mangini writes: 'L'esame del repertorio ci fa comprendere che la struttura interna della compagnia al servizio dei Grimani si è adeguata alle nuove esigenze: gli attori, infatti, oltre che eccellere nei ruoli tradizionali, devono essere disponibili anche per le parti musicali, dal momento che così richiede il pubblico. Gli intermezzi comici sono spesso interpretati da attori specializzati, ma abbastanza frequentemente è l'intera compagnia che si cimenta in commedie con musica, parodie musicali del dramma serio e delle tragedie, divertimenti e scherzi comici' (*I teatri di Venezia*, pp. 124-5).

[18] Cfr. Piero Weiss, 'Da Aldiviva a Lotavio Vandini: I 'drammi per musica' dei Comici a Venezia, nel primo settecento', in *L'invenzione del gusto: Corelli e Vivaldi. Mutazioni culturali, a Roma e Venezia, nel periodo post-barocco*, ed. by G. Morelli (Milan: Ricordi, 1982), pp. 168-88; Silke Leopold, 'Einige Gedanken zum Thema: Komische Oper in Venedig vor Goldoni', in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenshaftlichen Kongress Bayreuth, 1981*, ed. by Ch.-H. Mahling and S. Wiesmann. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), pp. 85-93. See also Sullivan Kaufman, *Stage Controversy and Satire from Arcadia to Alfieri* (M.Phil Diss., University College London, 1982).

[19] 'He did not know music, but could sing fairly well, and used to learn his part, the intonation and rhythm by ear. He compensated for the lack of knowledge and voice with personal ability, by [wearing] exaggerated costumes and by his knowledge of character-types, which he could play very well'. Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le opere*, ed. by G. Ortolani (Milan: Mondadori, 1969-73), I, p. 712. Quoted by Piero Weiss, 'Da Aldiviva a Lotavio Vandini', p. 168.

The standard of the *comici*'s sung performances was certainly not comparable to that of the various star singers in *drammi* and *tragedie per musica* at the major Venetian theatres. After all, it was the opera repertory created for professional singers of the San Giovanni Grisostomo and of other major theatres that crossed the Alps and spread throughout Europe, not that staged by the *comici* of the San Samuele.

Nonetheless, there are obvious elements in *dramma per musica* which, at the turn of the century, were still shared with the contemporary practice of *commedia dell'arte*. One of these was the choice of subject matter in many opera plots and *scenari*. There are remarkable similarities between some *scenari* of the *Ciro Monarca* manuscript collection and contemporary libretti, for example between the opera *L'empio punito* (Rome, 1669) and the two *scenari L'ateista fulminato* and *Il convitato di pietra* (all acknowledged ancestors of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*), between Antonio Salvi's libretto for Antonio Vivaldi's *Scanderbeg* (Florence, 1718) and *Le glorie di Scanderbech con la libertà della Patria sotto Amurat Imper.e di Costantinopoli*, between *Gl'honesti amori della regina d'Inghilterra* and *Amore e maestà* (Florence, 1715), another libretto by Salvi, which was revised by Paolo Rolli as *Arsace* (1721) for the Royal Academy of Music.[20] Furthermore, Paolo Fabbri has gathered an impressive

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[20] *Ciro Monarca, Dell'Opere Regie* (Cod. 4186) is catalogued at the Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, as a seventeenth-century collection. On the title page of the *scenario Il medico di suo Honore* appears the wording 'Il medico di suo Honore recitato per la prima volta in Firenze [...] Addi 17 ottobre 1642. Opera tratta dallo Spagnuolo'.

Other printed and manuscript collections of *scenari* include: Flaminio Scala, *Il teatro delle favole rappresentative, overo la ricreatione comica, boscareccia e tragica in cinquanta giornate* (Venice: Pulciani, 1611), ed. by F. Marotti (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1976); Basilio Locatelli, *Della scena de soggetti comici* [I-Rc F.IV.12 Cod. 1211, F.IV.13 Cod. 1212]; *Raccolta di scenari più scelti d'istrioni* [I-Rli Raccolta Corsiniana 45.G.5 and 6]; I-Rvat Cod.Barb.Lat. 3895; I-Rvat Cod.Vat.Lat. 10244; *Scenari del Museo Correr* [I-Vmc Raccolta Correr Cod. 1040]; *Gibaldone comico* [I-Nn Cod. XI.AA.40]; *Gibaldone de' soggetti da recitarsi all'impronto* [I-Nn Cod.XI.AA.41]; I-Fn Magl.II.I.80. Many *scenari* have been printed in Mario Apollonio, *Storia della Commedia dell'Arte* (Milan-Rome: Augustea, 1930); Ferdinando Neri, *Scenari delle maschere in Arcadia* (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1913); Adolfo Bartoli, *Scenari inediti della commedia dell'arte* (Florence: Sansoni, 1880); Enzo Petraccone, *La Commedia dell'arte, storia, tecnica, scenari* (Naples: Ricciardi, 1927); Anton Giulio Bragaglia,

number of examples of *topoi* used in seventeenth-century libretti that appear to have been drawn from improvised comedy: incidents (mistaken identities and disguises), scenic situations (madness, sleep, portraits, mirrors, letters, *ombra* scenes, magic invocations), stock characters (the comic servant, the old foster-mother (*nutrice*), the young lovers, the stammerer) plurilingualism,[21] various types of monologues (departures, laments) and dialogues in stichomythia.[22]

Theatre theorist and *capocomico* Andrea Perrucci (1651-1704), the author of the treatise *Della'arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all'improvviso* (1699), confirms that a number of *topoi* were indeed shared by opera and *commedia*.[23] With reference to the popular role of the stammerer, Perrucci writes:

> Si soleano fare dette parti in Musica, come si può vedere nei primi Drami nel nostro secolo *Dori*, *Giasone*, e *Finto Moro* del Lepori; oggi s'è affatto abolito, restando per le commedie all'improvviso. Il cantar qualche canzone balbuziente suol riuscire di gran diletto, quando si saprà ben fare.[24]

Canovacci della Commedia dell'Arte (Turin, 1943); Vito Pandolfi, *La commedia dell'arte* (Florence: Edizioni Sansoni Antiquariato, 1957-61).

The relationship between Da Ponte's libretto and these scenari is highlighted by Giovanni Macchia, *Vita avventure e morte di Don Giovanni* (Turin: Einaudi, 1958), while the connection between Salvi's *Amore e maestà* and the various scenari on the same subject has been underlined by Strohm, who refers to Vittorio Viviani, *Storia del Teatro Napoletano* (Naples: Guida, 1969), p. 190, in his study 'The Earl of Essex, *servitore di due padrone*', in *Dramma per Musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 294-305. As far as the *Scanderbeg* libretto is concerned, Salvi himself refers to a hitherto unidentified model in the *avviso al lettore* (see Giuntini, *I drammi per musica di Antonio Salvi*, p. 255). I suggest that the aforementioned scenario could be 'uno de' migliori pezzi che rappresentino gl'istrioni' mentioned by the librettist.

[21] I am referring here more to the use of onomatopoeia and stylistic registers rather than to the usage of foreign languages and dialect, which was, in fact, extremely rare, especially in Venice.

[22] Paolo Fabbri, *Il secolo cantante: Per una storia del libretto d'opera nel Seicento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990). See also Anna Laura Bellina, 'Cenni sulla presenza della commedia dell'arte nel libretto comico settecentesco', in *Venezia e il melodramma nel Settecento*, ed. by M.T. Muraro (Florence: Leo S.Olschki, 1978), pp. 131-47.

[23] Andrea Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all'improvviso. Parti due* [...] *del dottor Andrea Perrucci* [...] (Naples: M.L. Mutio, 1699). The rare treatise has been reprinted by A.G. Bragaglia, *Andrea Perrucci: Dell'arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all'improvviso* (1699) (Florence: Edizioni Saansoni Antiquariato, 1961) (Nuovi testi e rari, vol. 10).

[24] 'It was usual to perform these parts in music, as can be seen in the early drammi of our century *Dori*, *Giasone*, and *Finto Moro* by Lepori; today this practice has been completely abolished, and left only in improvised comedies. When properly done, the singing of some 'stammering' song is usually very successful'. (Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, p. 209).

Furthermore, on the role of the old foster-mother or servant, still found at the turn of the century in the comic scenes (*contrascene*) that were inserted by Neapolitan librettists into the *drammi per musica* imported from Venice and from Rome, he observes:

> Si sogliono queste parti usare ne i Drammi in musica, fingendole vecchie di Corte scaltrite e innamoraticce, sono state anche portate dal Cicognini, Stanchi, ed altre nelle recitative, ed all'improvviso, e non hanno di mestieri di premeditato servendo quasi di contrascene per lo più.[25]

From Perrucci's words we almost gather that, thanks to the activity of dramatists like Cicognini and Stanchi, these roles were transferred from *dramma* to literary comedy and *commedia dell'arte* and not vice versa.

During his twenty-year activity at the San Bartolomeo theatre, Perrucci wrote and adapted many libretti from Venice for the Neapolitan stage. His original libretti include *Epaminonda* (1684), *Difendere l'offensore ovvero La Stellidaura vendicante* (1674),[26] *Chi tal nasce tal vive ovvero L'Alessandro Bala* (1678), *Mitilene, Regina delle Amazzoni* (1681). He revised, among others, *Candaule*, *Alessandro in Sidone*, *Giustino*,[27] *Nerone fatto Cesare*, *Rosmene*, *Seleuco*, translated works by Lope de Vega and wrote dramatic texts in verse and prose. Through these diverse writings, Perrucci took an active part in the polemics centred around the reform of Italian theatre.

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[25] 'It is common to use these parts in *drammi per musica* by giving them the role of cunning and *innamoraticce* old courtesans. They have also been introduced by Cicognini, Stanchi and others into spoken and improvised drama and they do not need [much] previously written text, as they usually serve almost like *intermedi*.' (Perrucci, *Dell'arte*, p. 225).

[26] Other performances are recorded for the years 1675, when Giulia de Caro, who signed the dedication, was impresario of the San Bartolomeo, and 1685.

[27] Perrucci himself gives a list of his libretti without distinguishing between original works, such as *Epaminonda*, and adaptations, such as *Giustino*. The latter refers to Beregani's *Giustino*. See Rudolf Bossard, 'I viaggi di Giustino', in *Giovanni Legrenzi e la Cappella Ducale di San Marco: Atti dei convegni internazionali di studi (Venezia 24-26 maggio 1990; Clusone, 14-16 settembre 1990)*, ed. by F. Passadore and F. Rossi (Florence: Olschki, 1994), p. 495-544.

Although intended for *dilettanti*, copies of Perrucci's manual were literally worn out by actors and *capocomici*, amateurs and professionals alike. *Dell'arte rappresentativa* stands as one of the most important documents on seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century performance practice as far as both written and improvised comedy and musical drama are concerned; it will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.[28]

Before delving into issues of dramaturgy, which will in fact be the subject of the next chapter, I shall examine the nature of the *comici*'s improvisation techniques and investigate possible analogies between the amount of freedom granted to the actor for his/her creative contribution by the *scenario* and that granted to the composer by the libretto, as well as to the singer and the instrumental player by the score. Nino Pirrotta and Laura Bellina have pin-pointed aspects of *dramma per musica* that might have relied on improvisation, such as the realisation of the continuo.[29] Still, a *dramma per musica* was entirely written out. Even if the alleged spontaneity of improvisation could be imitated, by interrupting the aria before the *da capo* or beginning without an opening ritornello for example, thanks to the high level of formalisation reached by the da capo aria at the turn of the century (a scheme that would have made any deviation from the norm obvious), singers could not change their words and orchestral players performed from their parts.[30] The scope afforded to continuo players, for example during

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[28] See the important study by Pietro Spezzani, 'L'*Arte rappresentativa* di Andrea Perrucci e la lingua della commedia dell'arte', in L. Vanossi *et alii*, *Lingua e strutture del teatro italiano del Rinascimento* (Padua: Liviana, 1970), pp. 355-438, and Franco Carmelo Greco, 'Ideologia e pratica della scena nel primo Settecento napoletano', in *Studi Pergolesiani*, ed. by F.Degrada (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1986), pp. 33-72.

[29] Anna Laura Bellina, 'Cenni sulla presenza della Commedia dell'arte', p.131, mentions the possibility of analogies between the improvised dialogues of *commedia* and the recitatives on a figured bass that could have been improvised to a certain extent, as well as the 'interchangeable' nature of both the actors's improvised monologues and the singers's arias. She does draw attention, however, to the fact that the need for coordination between players and singers largely limited the space for improvisation.

[30] In the Introduction to his treatise *Der Generalbaß in der Komposition* (1728), Johann David Heinichen praises the bass of a *Cantata a voce sola* for the expressive use of 'irregular' progressions, for it 'begins the aria with no chosen theme but with an ever-changing variation of the single bass note F, as if it were taken extemporaneously'. Johann David Heinichen, *Der Generalbaß in der Komposition* (Dresden, 1728), ed. and tr. by George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), p. 321.

recitatives, was clearly limited and their contribution to the performance as a whole was certainly not comparable to the linguistic acrobatics of the most experienced and talented *comici*, who were able to capture the audience's attention almost for as long as they wished. A certain amount of freedom was probably also granted singers during recitatives. Recitative was, and is still, the most demanding part of an opera to memorise because of both its quantity and scant melodic identity. It is likely that the ability to improvise made up for memory lapses and the same expertise was expected not only from the other singers, who had to respond to the new dramatic situation, but also from the players who had to follow them.

Memory lapses were of course a common drawback for actors as well. Perrucci devotes several pages in the first part of his treatise focusing on the *premeditata* to a discussion on memory.[31] He identifies two types of memory, *retentiva* (hard to fix, but long-lasting) and *apprensiva* (easy to fix, but short-time). Perrucci considers the *retentiva* memory more useful for the improviser:

> Io per me direi, che sarebbe meglio la retentiva quando si avesse a far raccolta di sentenze, o d'autorità per lo scrivere, o per discorrere a braccio, o per dar volumi alle stampe, perché colui che facilmente apprende, e subito si scorda, fatiga al vento, se non ha amica la penna, e resta *tamquam tabula rasa*.[32]

In any case, memory and the ability to conceal any temporary lapses in memory are essential to any performer:

> [...] dal che si argomenta quanto sia necessario al Recitante premeditato il sapersi risolvere all'improviso, avenga che in un accidente, o infortunio successo, può

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[31] Andrea Perrucci, Regola viii, 'Della Memoria, ed uso di essa in apprender le Parti', in *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, p. 109ff.

[32] 'I personally would say that the *retentiva* memory would be more suitable for the purpose of collecting pithy sayings, or famous quotations for re-use in writing or for improvisation, or the publication of books, because he who learns easily, and forgets quickly, will work in vain unless he writes them down, and will remain like a *tabula rasa*'. Ibid., p. 138.

> seguitare a parlare senza che faccia accorgere niuno del difetto, lo che più volte m'è successo.[33]

The actor's improvised monologue seems to find an obvious analogy in the singer's aria, despite the fact that the latter was never improvised, whereas the *comico*'s monologue was.[34] Both captivated the audience's interest and were often able to stretch dramatic time without detriment to the action; after all, it was not the plot (*azione*) in itself (often well known) that the audience was primarily interested in. This was probably the case with *dramma per musica*, in which most of the arias were placed at the end of the scene; by doing this, the literary concerns of 'reform' librettists could be preserved and the audience's expectation for pleasing musical numbers fulfilled. The cult of the actor that characterised the practice of improvised theatre in Italy may also have had some part in the increasing importance of both singers and arias in opera during the seventeenth century.

The advice given by Perrucci to actors on how to improvise monologues and the literary sources mentioned for this purpose reveal that a solid literary background was deemed necessary for a successful improvisation.[35] By extension, improvisation was

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[33] 'From this we understand how important it is for the actor to be able to improvise and continue talking in case of some [memory] accident, so that nobody would notice anything. This happened to me a number of times'. Perrucci continues: 'difetto irrimediabile nel recitare in musica, non potendosi cantare come recitare all'improvviso [...]' (an irreparable defect in musical acting, as it is not possible to improvise singing as it is acting). Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, p. 138-9. Perrucci was probably referring here to the singing of arias; by saying this, however, he seems to exclude categorically the existence of any kind of improvised *dramma per musica* or *commedia in musica*. The *commedia all'improvviso in musica* performed in Rome at the Cancelleria in 1692 mentioned in the 'Avvisi Marescotti' [AM 788, c.327, 12 aprile 1692, doc.130] by Gloria Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta: La vita musicale romana negli 'Avvisi Marescotti' (1683-1707)* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1990), pp.16-7 and 104, was probably an improvised comedy with the insertion of incidental music: insertions, however, that were rather common, as many *scenari* and iconographical sources reveal.

[34] Of course the singer could often intervene by negotiating with the composer, before the performance, the substitution of an aria with another of his/her own choosing.

[35] Perrucci mentions, for example, Doni and Burchiello as sources for good madness monologues. *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, p. 178. Perrucci's treatise appeared when *commedia dell'arte*'s practice of improvisation was at a stage of 'decline'. His effort towards the codification of the practice and its renewal through the acquisition of a solid literary background is remarkable and itself a part of that 'decline'.

not intended as some sort of 'creation' from nothing, on the spur of the moment, but as a relatively free choice and assemblage of possible pre-acquired answers to a given problem (the role, the scenic situation, the action, the fellow actors' lines). In the introduction to the second part of his treatise, devoted to the *Rappresentare all'improvviso*, Perrucci writes:

> Or per facilitare con le Regole questo vago, e curioso divertimento; si deve sapere, che non ignudi affatto di qualche cosa premeditata devono esporsi al cimento, ma armati di certe composizioni generali, che si possono adattare ad ogni specie di Comedia, come sono per l'Innamorati, e Donne, di Concetti, Soliloquii, e Dialoghi, per il Vecchi Consigli, Discorsi, Saluti, Bisquizzi, e qualche graziosità, e perché ognuno d'essi v'abbia qualche regola, andremo discorrendo d'ogni parte di essa in particolare, con darne qualche esempio, acciocché ognuno a suo capriccio se le vada poi formando, e se ne serva secondo l'occasione.[36]

According to Perrucci, these *composizioni generali* or *concetti* should be gathered by the actor himself in a book entitled *Cibaldone* or *Repertorio* and organised in different sections according to the topics of the monologues and dialogues, such as 'requited love', 'despised love', 'jealousy', 'departure' and so on.[37] The *comico* would then be able to make use of them whenever needed.

Fortunately, some examples of these collections of *robbe generiche* (as the famous *comico* Luigi Riccoboni used to call them) have been preserved, including *Le cento bravure del Capitan Spavento* by Francesco Andreini (Venice, 1612)[38] and the

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[36] 'In order to facilitate this beautiful and particular entertainment with a set of rules, one ought to know that one would not undertake this enterprise unequipped with something premeditated, but equipped with certain general compositions that can be adapted to any kind of comedy, as it might be for lovers, women, conceits, soliloquies and dialogues, old counsellors, monologues, greetings, arguments, and certain graceful turns of phrase, and in order to draw up some rules for each one of these, I shall touch upon them in detail with examples, so that everybody will be able to build their own according to their fancy and use them when needed.' Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, p. 161.

[37] 'I concetti che si deve apparecchiare per servirsene nell'occasione, devono essere raccolti in un libro con titolo di *Cibaldone Repertorio* [...] con i titoli d'*Amor corrisposto, disprezzo, priego, scaccia, sdegno, gelosia, pace, amicizia, merito, partenza* e altro'. Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, p. 164.

[38] Partially reprinted by Petraccone, *La Commedia dell'Arte*, pp. 202-47.

Dialoghi by Isabella Andreini.[39] While these collections might be regarded principally as poetical exercises, the manuscript dialogues by the actor and *capocomico* Domenico Bruni, as well as the *Selva overo Zibaldone di concetti comici raccolti dal Padre D.Placido Adriani di Lucca* found at the Biblioteca Comunale di Perugia, are apparently authentic performance material.[40]

The same classificatory principle identified by opera scholars for aria types seems also to inform Perrucci's examples of monologues. The beginning of Perrucci's *concetto 'Di partenza'* reads thus: 'Parto o bella: ma con qual cuore lo sa solo il Dio Cupido'.[41] Perrucci claimed authorship for this monologue of departure, which, according to him, was one of the most popular *concetti* among contemporary actors. Whether it was as widespread among the *comici* as Perrucci claims cannot be said with certainty. This *concetto*, however, was frequently employed in contemporary *dramma per musica*, often retaining the element of the heart that suffers at the departure or even remains with the beloved, as the following examples show:

'Ch'io parta, partirò, ma forse, forse' Mandane sings in Francesco Silvani's *L'inganno scoperto per vendetta* (Venice, 1691) before leaving the stage.

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[39] Other *Zibaldoni* include G.C. Croce, *Le ventisette piacevoli mascherate piacevolissime, delle quali pigliandosi l'inventioni si possono fare concerti dilettevoli e gratiosi per passatempo il Carnevale* (Venice, 1631); P. Veraldo, *Mascherate et capricci recitativi in comedie et da cantare in ogni sorta d'instrumenti, operette di molto spasso* (Venice, 1672) (partially reprinted by Pandolfi, *Storia della Commedia dell'arte*, vol. 4, pp. 20-9 and 156-9).

[40] The collection is partially reprinted by Petraccone, *La Commedia dell'Arte*, pp. 257-93 and Pandolfi, *Storia della Commedia dell'arte*, vol. 4, pp. 242-84. On Adriani's *Zibaldone* see Suzanne Thérault, *La Commedia dell'Arte, vue à travers le Zibaldone de Pérouse, étude suivie d'un choix de scenari de Placido Adriani étudiés et traduits par Suzanne Thérault* (Paris, 1965), and C. Lepore, 'Comunicazioni su nuovi ritrovamenti relativi a Placido Adriani', in *Quaderni di Teatro*, vol. 6 (Rome: Bulzoni, 1984), pp. 155-64. Bruni's manuscript *Dialoghi scenici* (Rome, Biblioteca del Burcardo 3-37-5-35) are partially printed in V. Pandolfi, p. 37-47.

[41] 'Parto o bella: ma con qual cuore lo sà solo il Dio Cupido: poiche se si svelle la pianta del natio terreno cadono i fiori, illanguidiscono le frondi, ed arido rimane; così il mio cuore svelto da quel seno da cui riceve l'amoroso alimento, e la vita: perde i fiori delle gioie, le frondi della speranza, ed arido diviene'. Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, p. 166.

'Vado si, ma resto anch'io', Lucrezia in Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti's *Ottone* (Venice, 1694), [Vado si; ma resto anch'io/Se ben parto a languire con te/In te resto col mesto cor mio/Col tuo parto penando mio re].

'Tu vuoi ch'io parta[...], ma...', Rodrigo in Silvani's *L'inganno innocente* (Venice, 1701, but written in 1695), extremely similar to Domenico Lalli's 'Tu vuoi ch'io parta' in *Amor tirannico* (Venice, 1710). This aria was retained by George Frideric Handel for his *Radamisto* of 1720.

'Parto, ma col desio', Adrasto in Morari's *Farnace* (Venice, 1703).

'Tu vuoi che io parta', Polissena in Lalli's *Amor tirannico* (Florence, 1712) and *Radamisto* (London, 1720). For the first revival of the opera in December 1720, Handel substituted Polissena's aria 'Sposo ingrato' with a second departure aria: **'Barbaro partirò, ma...'**.

'Lieto parto[...], ma', Agrippa in Lalli's *La Mariane* (Venice, 1724) ['Lieto parto amato bene/ma gia' meco il cor non viene]

All the arias listed above are of course exit arias: the character sings and leaves the stage. Both Perrucci's monologue and the arias serve the same purpose of marking the exit of the actor/singer. The common device by which the task is accomplished is the adversative conjunction 'ma' (composers have often given emphasis to the 'ma' and treated it as a caesura by isolating it from the rest of the aria). This allows the expansion of the scene by opening a virtually unlimited space for the actor's or singer's performance, and prepares the ground for the continuation of the action; it also introduces an element of surprise, which often leads to comic consequences - at least in *commedia*. It would be interesting to verify whether Perrucci's monologue was at least in part intended as a parody of the newly established operatic practice of the exit aria. A systematic study of contemporary collections of *scenari*, such as the Neapolitan *Casamarciano* of 1700, might indicate whether a similar practice was also gaining ground in non-musical theatre.

Among the *lazzi*[42] in the Perugia manuscript collection, the *Dialogo in terzo* appears to have met with particular acclaim in *dramma per musica*. Stripped of its obscene language, we find it in Domenico Lalli's *Amor tirannico* of 1710. The linguistic register is obviously different and there is no distortion of the words or their meaning. Yet the comic situation of the dialogue between King Tiridate and Zenobia by means of a third party, Radamisto disguised as Ismeno, is preserved.[43] This is a *lazzo* that succeeds only on stage, as it depends on the visual effect of two characters positioned on either side and the third, a part often entrusted to the *Zanni* in *commedia dell'arte*, moving incessantly from one to the other. For its comic effect, it relies on the unnatural slowing down of a normally brisk and direct exchange of lines between two characters caused by the superfluous mediation of a third party.

Perrucci's exit monologue 'Parto o bella' mentioned earlier is found among numerous other examples of *concetti*. 'I concetti però da rappresentare', says Perrucci, 'non son altro, che una loquzione [sic] breve figurata',[44] that is, short speeches embellished through rhetorical figures; he continues with a list of rhetorical figures that can add beauty, emphasis and vigour to the speech. He also draws on examples from his own libretti *Alessandro Bala* and *La costanza nelle sventure*[45] to show how rhetorical figures, such as metaphor, metonymy, allegory, antonomasia, hyperbole and so on, are used to provoke laughter in comic dialogues and monologues.[46] Perrucci indeed never misses an opportunity to underline the close relationship between rhetoric and the *arte rappresentativa* and identifies acting techniques and memory with *actio* and *memoria* respectively - two of the five parts into which Rhetoric was traditionally

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[42] The etymology of the word *lazzo* has not been clarified yet. *Azzione* (action), *laccio* (lace) or *lazzo* indicates some sort of free area for the actor's improvisation, which was probably more centred on word-play and physical actions rather than improvised dialogues and monologues. For the latter two, the indication *far scena sopra...* seems to be more suitable.

[43] The scene is discussed in Chapter 7 in connection with the study of Domenico Lalli's *Amor tirannico* and Handel's *Radamisto*.

[44] Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, p. 164.

[45] Perrucci probably wrote only the *contrascene* for this libretto.

[46] Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, p. 232ff.

divided. In addition, the actor of the *improvvisa* was to take an active part in *elocutio* and, to a certain degree, in *inventio* and *dispositio*. *Dell'arte rappresentativa* would thereby benefit not only actors, but also preachers, orators and academicians:

> [...] per sapere con la Pronuncia, gesti ed azzioni esprimere i sentimenti dell'animo a chi ascolta con modo, e garbo, avendo gran forza di persuadere l'espressione al vivo. Quindi vediamo ed Oratori, e Lettori di scienze, e d'Arti liberali, ed Accademici, ed Ambasciadori, e Capi di Guerra, e Predicatori havere di questa un gran bisogno, per persuadere, esprimere, concitare, descrivere, esortare, animare, correggere, e sapersi cattivare gli animi degli ascoltanti [...] e benché dall'Oratore al Comico vi sia nel gestire qualche differenza, ad ogni modo quanto più al rappresentare l'Oratore si accosta, par che più gradito ne sia.[47]

Perrucci refers to the many *Accademie* that practised improvisation and in particular mentions the case of the *Squinternati* in Palermo, amongst whom 'recitarci all'improvviso' was compulsory.[48] These were most probably poetic contests, similar to those of the new-born Accademia dell'Arcadia. On the other hand, the improvised performances in colleges and schools, most notably those at the Jesuit Collegio and Seminario Romano documented by printed *scenari*, were certainly of a dramatic nature. There, improvisation techniques were an integral part of the students' rhetorical training. The mastering of rhetoric was a primary objective of the Jesuit *curriculum studiorum*; Jesuits had always considered perfect eloquence an indispensable tool for

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[47] 'To know how to express the affections of the soul to the listener with *modo* and *garbo* through words, gestures and actions, and to persuade powerfully. We see orators, lecturers of science and of liberal arts, academicians, ambassadors, military leaders, preachers, to be in great need of this art, in order to persuade, express, excite, describe, urge, stir, correct and to gain the listener's favour [...] and although there is some difference between the orator's and the actor's gestures, the more the orator imitates the actor the more pleasing he appears to be.' Ibid., p. 55-6.

[48] 'Molte Accademie sono insorte di questo virtuoso esercizio, ed in Napoli, ed in Bologna, ed in molte Città d'Italia; anzi in Palermo ne sorse anni sono una col titolo di *Squinternati*, che faceva per impresa un *Libro squinternato* col motto; *Non qui internati*: Le di cui leggi erano, che fusse astretto chi andava ad ascoltarli. a recitarci all'improvviso, quando chiamato vi fusse; bella ritrovata d'ingegni siciliani?' Ibid., p. 160.

the spreading of the Catholic faith as well as a distinctive feature of the upper classes.[49] Apart from the moral teachings inherent in the chosen dramas, the writing out of scenarios, whether deriving them from existing written dramas or not, was itself a practical exercise for the students towards mastering *inventio* and *dispositio*, while improvised acting served the refinement of *elocutio, memoria* and *actio*.

In addition to improvised dramas, the students of Roman and Bolognese colleges performed translations of French classical tragedies and *drammi per musica*, all of which contributed in different ways to the same rhetorical and moral training. Perrucci himself summarises the close relationship between *commedia* and *dramma per musica* when he addresses both opera singers and actors with his observations on performing techniques:

> Le regole dunque ai musici che cantano, e rappresentano saranno comuni nella memoria, gestire, et azioni con i Recitanti, che parlano; così del muovere gli affetti, gli abiti e le scene, lasciando ai Maestri di musica [...] l'arte d'addottrinarli nelle note, e nell'Armonia del canto...[50]

According to Perrucci, the opera singer was expected to dress, act and use the stage in the same way as his or her fellow actors, and all these aspects of performance were regulated by Rhetoric. Rhetoric, therefore, organised the dramatic poet's composition and the actor's speech as well as informing the actor's and singer's gestures. Rhetoric also guided the opera composer's inspiration.[51] The more the libretto imitated spoken drama and placed most of the arias at the end of scenes, so as not to interrupt the dramatic flow, the more latitude was given to the composer of the music. He could thus

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[49] Andrea Battistini, 'I manuali di retorica dei Gesuiti', in *La 'Ratio studiorum': Modelli culturali e pratiche educative dei Gesuiti in Italia tra Cinquecento e Seicento*, ed. by G.P. Brizzi (Rome: Bulzoni, 1981), pp. 77-120.

[50] 'The rules for the singers then, shall be the same as for the actors with regard to memory, gesture and action, as well as moving the affections, costumes and stage sets, leaving to the masters of music [...] the art of imparting them through the notes and with the harmony of singing.' Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, p. 92.

[51] Cfr. Chapter 1, 'Poetics and Rhetoric as Cultural Background of *Dramma per Musica*'.

decide more freely which *loci* or aspects of the poetic text to emphasise and, to a certain extent, which musical form to use; like the actor, the composer could choose, within the limits imposed upon him by the libretto, 'what to say', 'when to say it' and 'how to say it'.

Dell'arte rappresentativa is the result of Perrucci's long professional theatrical experience. Despite being addressed to amateurs, the treatise is a synthesis of seventeenth-century theatrical practice. At the same time it shows signs of the new century; Perrucci intervenes in the debates on the reform of the theatre by codifying and revitalising the declining practice of improvisation and by anchoring it more firmly to the written text.

Perrucci's definition of improvisation has helped to trace new theatrical elements, held in common with *commedia dell'arte*, that appear to have survived the elimination of comic scenes from *dramma per musica*. Furthermore, it has guided my attempt to identify compositional and performing techniques in *dramma per musica* comparable to the acting techniques required to perform from *commedia dell'arte scenari* and discussed in *Dell'arte rappresentativa*. I have looked briefly at the creative contributions of the instrumental player, the singer and that of the composer to a 'genre' that, as improvised theatre, only finds completion through performance. Both *commedia* and *dramma per musica* productions were unique events: improvised theatre was heavily reliant on the exclusive and unpredictable contribution of the actor, whereas *dramma per musica* depended on the combination and balance of more than one variable element - singers, instrumentalists, stage-sets and music. They limited each other, while still preserving some degree of freedom from the libretto.[52] Each

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[52] In rhetorical terms we could say that the contribution of the actor towards the creative process concerned, to a certain extent, all the traditional five parts of Rhetoric, *inventio, dispositio, elocutio, actio, memoria*; while the composer of a *dramma per musica* would have had part in *inventio, dispositio* and *elocutio*. *Elocutio* was partly in the hands of the singer as well (musical embellishment in arias and possibly, with reference to the insertion of words and music, in recitatives when memory lapses

commedia company could offer its own version of the same *scenario* with different combinations of *lazzi* and *scene*, but it is likely that these remained substantially unaltered night after night. Similarly, each new production of a *dramma per musica*, for which a temporary company of singers was assembled, used a new musical setting. Like the *comici*'s improvisations, this remained the same during the course of the 'runs' of performances. As far as the compositional process is concerned, one can even recognise procedures of assemblage of pre-constituted elements or *loci* (such as intervals, harmonic solutions and melodic-rhythmic segments) similar to those of the improviser described by Perrucci. Mattheson's concept of *moduli*, discussed by George J. Buelow in the context of Handel's borrowing technique, seems to offer an ideal counterpart to Perrucci's account in his reference to rhetoric:[53]

> For the theme or principal melody [of a composition], which in the science of melody represents what the text or subject is to an orator, certain formulas must be held in reserve, that can be employed in general [musical] discourse. That is to say: the composer, through much experience and attentive listening to good works, must have collected here and there modulations, little turns, clever motives [Fälle], pleasing figures, conjunct and leaping, which, though consisting only of merely detached things, can bring about something general and complete through suitable combination.[54]

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occurred), who took care of *actio* and *memoria* principally. As far as music is concerned, *elocutio* and *actio* pertained also to the player.

[53] George J. Buelow, 'Mattheson's Concept of "Moduli" as a Clue to Handel's Compositional Process', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 3 (1987), p. 272-78.

[54] Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), Part II, Fourth Chapter 'Concerning Melodic Invention'. Quoted in Buelow, 'Mattheson's Concept of "Moduli"', p. 274.

Chapter 3

Commedia dell'Arte and *Dramma per Musica*: A Comparative Study of a *Scenario* and a *Dramma per Musica*

I tre principi di Salerno, a *commedia dell'arte scenario* found in the manuscript collection Magliab. II.I.80, and *Engelberta*, a *dramma per musica* on a libretto by Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Pariati, are the subject of the following comparative study between two different theatrical forms - an improvised tragicomedy and an eighteenth-century *dramma per musica* - brought closer together by the use of very similar subject matter.

The story of the faithful wife unjustly accused by a rejected lover, who had tried to seduce her during her husband's absence, appears to have been a popular subject on the European stage. Apart from the Italian *scenario I tre principi di Salerno*, which also circulated under the title of *La morte di Leonello e Brisseida*, the subject was utilised by Hardy (*L'inceste supposé*, n.d.), Tristan l'Hermite (*Mariane*, 1636), La Caze (*L'inceste supposé*, 1640), Chevreau (*Les véritables frères rivaux*, 1641) and Boisrobert (*Théodore reyne de Hongrie*, 1658). Of these, La Caze's *tragicomédie* appears to be closest to *Engelberta* through its use of the *topos* of the apparition of the Queen's ghost and of the offender's delirium which leads to a full confession. The theatre historian Henry Carrington Lancaster has traced the source of La Caze back to Hardy's *L'inceste supposé* and has identified the same subject in the medieval legend of the Empress of Rome of the poem *Florence de Rome*.[1] In this context he also mentioned the Spanish comedy *Marmol de Felisardo* by Lope de Vega.[2] Moreover, the subject was

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[1] Wallenskold, *Florence de Rome* (Paris: Farmin-Didot, 1909) (Anciens textes français, I), pp. 105-30.
[2] Henry Carrington Lancaster, *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, vol 1/2, *The Period of Corneille 1635-1651* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1932), p. 244.

partly shared with the Latin tragedy *Crispus* and the related Italian *scenari* and opera libretti of the same title (*Il Crispo*), Mauro's libretto *Enrico Leone* (Hannover, 1689) and Frigimelica Roberti's *Ottone* (Venice, 1694).

Although Zeno was probably acquainted with at least some of these works - certainly with Frigimelica Roberti's *Ottone* - he almost certainly used none of them as a direct model for his libretto. Nonetheless, the very comparison between two such different genres, a *dramma per musica* and an improvised tragicomedy of very probably Spanish origin, can help us to understand some of Zeno's choices in his writing for the Italian stage. The identification of similarities and dissimilarities in the way in which the subject is exploited, the plot is organised, the characters are treated, and in the type and arrangement of space devoted more specifically to the actor and the singer, will shed some light on aspects of the dramaturgy that could otherwise be misinterpreted as irregularities or even mistakes (unskilful handling of the characters and scene construction) on the librettists' part. When considered within the wider context of the Italian theatrical tradition, these irregularities appear as plausible dramaturgical procedures. *Engelberta* is not a French-based libretto, nor was Zeno following a classical model that could provide an easy way to 'stick to the rules'. Precisely for these reasons, *Engelberta* constitutes a unique viewpoint from which one can measure Zeno's preoccupation with literary standards as well as performance requirements, including musical performance requirements such as a hierarchically organised cast and the presence of *ariette*.

The Incidents of Briseida and Engelberta: Dramaturgy, Spectacle and Literary Standards

The *dramma per musica Engelberta* was written by Apostolo Zeno for the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan and performed in June 1708 with music by Andrea Fiorè and magnificent stage sets by Ferdinando Galli Bibiena. This opera followed *Teuzzone* of 1706, Zeno's first commission for the Milanese theatre. Shortly after its first performance, *Engelberta* was staged in Venice. It was produced, probably under Zeno's supervision, at the Teatro San Cassiano during the Carnival season of 1709 (1708*mv*), this time with music by the most popular composers in Venice: Tommaso Albinoni (Acts I to III) and Francesco Gasparini (Acts IV and V). Documented performances at Bologna (1709), Naples (1709), Rome (1711), Brescia (1711), Verona (1714), Genova (1717) and Venice again (1743), together with the exceptional wealth of surviving scores, provide an indication of the considerable success that this *dramma per musica* enjoyed throughout the first half of the eighteenth century.

Zeno wrote *Engelberta* in collaboration with Pariati.[3] Zeno wrote the scenario (which provided an outline of the subject, the handling of the plot, the disposition of the characters, and the setting up of the situations), while the versification was shared between himself and Pariati. The co-operation between the two had begun a few years earlier with *Antioco* (1705) and was to continue, with some intermissions, over the Vienna years until at least 1721.[4] The actual process of shared writing of the

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[3] In Zeno's own *Catalogo de' drammi composti dal Sig. Apostolo Zeno con la dichiarazione de' luoghi e de' tempi in cui l'Autore stesso li ha pubblicati*, published in *Novelle della Repubblica letteraria* 46 (Venice: Albrizzi, 1735), *Engelberta* is marked as '...lavoro del Signor Zeno quanto alla favola, ma quanto a' versi sono parte di lui, parte del fu Sig. Pietro Pariati'. Quoted in Giovanna Gronda (ed.), *La carriera di un librettista: Pietro Pariati da Reggio di Lombardia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990), p. 172.

[4] According to Gronda, *La carriera di un librettista*, pp. 179-81, Zeno's libretti *Antioco* (Venice, 1705), *Ambleto* (Venice, 1706), *Statira* (Venice, 1706), *Flavio Anicio Olibrio* (Venice, 1708), *L'Engelberta* (Milan, 1708), *Astarto* (Venice, 1708), *Zenobia in Palmira* (Barcelona, 1708), *Don Chisciotte in Sierra Morena* (Vienna, 1719) and *Alessandro in Sidone* (Vienna, 1721) were most certainly written in collaboration with Pariati.

Engelberta libretto is documented in the incomplete manuscript of the text found amongst Zeno's autographs at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice.[5] Parts of the document, to which I shall return later, show a different hand in addition to Zeno's, which, according to Giovanna Gronda, almost certainly belongs to Pariati.[6]

The *dramma* opens with the return of the Emperor Lodovico II from a victorious military campaign. During the Emperor's absence, Ernesto, who had been left in charge of the Empire, had tried to seduce the Empress Engelberta and he now accuses Engelberta of having herself tried to seduce him. Lodovico believes the false accusation, but his love for the Empress makes him undecided about whether to put her to death or to forgive her. Ottone, Captain of the Imperial guards, helps Ernesto against Engelberta and convinces the Emperor that she wanted to poison him. Lodovico, finally persuaded of Engelberta's guilt, orders Bonoso, Duke of Arles (in love with Engelberta's daughter Metilde), to kill the Empress. Fortunately Bonoso not only kills Ottone and spares the Empress' life, but also defends her honour in a duel. Ernesto publicly confesses his guilt and Engelberta is happily reunited with her husband Lodovico, who, until then, had believed that Bonoso had killed her.

The choice of the subject matter and its Germanic flavour seem highly appropriate for the time (1708, War of the Spanish Succession), the place (Milan, in the Imperial sphere of influence) and the dedicatee (Christine Elizabeth of Brunswick, due to stop in Milan on her way to Barcelona to meet her spouse Charles III of Habsburg) for the first production. Zeno was well acquainted with the history of Europe, as he had been asked in 1702 to complete Antonio Foresti's *Mappamondo istorico*. From these

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[5] I-Vnm Ms. It., cl.IX, cxxviii=7519.
[6] Gronda, *La carriera di un librettista*, p. 227. Facsimiles of III,i (in Zeno's hand) and viii (in Pariati's hand) are in Gronda, Plates 2-3.

historical accounts and sagas, he could easily have drawn images as well as themes and subjects for his and Pariati's libretti.[7]

The *scenario I tre principi di Salerno* opens with the departure of Prince Oronte to war. He leaves his kingdom and his wife Briseida in the hands of his brother Fabio. During Oronte's absence, Fabio tries to seduce Briseida. She is saved just in time by Leonello, the third brother. Fabio, seeking revenge, manages to kill Leonello, Briseida and her servant Rosetta. Only Leonello's servant Cola is able to escape and to inform Oronte, who is already on his way back to Salerno, of these tragic events. Once back to Salerno, Oronte finally orders Fabio's death.

In the *scenario* the action begins with Prince Oronte leaving for war and entrusting his kingdom and his wife to one of his brothers. It ends with his return and the punishment of the treacherous brother. The most obvious departure of the *dramma per musica* from the *canovaccio* concerns the shifting forward in time of the beginning of the action. The *dramma per musica* starts with Lodovico's return: what constitutes the last act in the *scenario*, here opens the first.

The time gap between the first documented appearance of the *scenario* (end of the sixteenth century) and the date of composition of the libretto (1708), as well as the probable Spanish derivation of the *scenario*, might explain the different approach to the same subject. Spanish dramaturgy allowed dramatists to represent events taking place in times and places far removed from each other. Spanish drama was still very popular in Italy at the beginning of the eighteenth century; the comedies by Lope de Vega, Calderon de la Barca, Perez de Montalvan were certainly performed and were also circulated in the reduced format of *scenari*.[8] The documented practice of copying older

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[7] See for example the subject of Pariati's *La Svanvita* (Milan, 1708), a reworking of the now lost *Regnero* of 1703, taken from Samuel Pufendorf, *Commentaria de rebus Suecicis* (Utrecht, 1686), and Zeno's and Pariati's *Ambleto* (Venice, 1706), taken from Saxo Grammaticus.

[8] See, for example, the many *scenari* and *argomenti* of Spanish comedies in Gian Gioseffo Orsi's personal library. Simonetta Ingegno Guidi, 'Per la storia del teatro francese in Italia: L.A. Muratori, G.G. Orsi e P.J. Martello', *La rassegna della letteratura italiana* 78, VII/1-2 (1974), p. 75; 93-4. See

collections of *scenari* supports the hypothesis that these same dramas, *I tre principi* included, were still being performed *all'improvviso* by *comici* and amateurs during the eighteenth century.

The *scenario I tre principi di Salerno*, found in three early eighteenth-century Italian manuscript sources, is probably of sixteenth-century origin.[9] María del Valle Ojeda Calvo has recently discovered in Madrid what appears to be the oldest collection of *commedia dell'arte scenari*.[10] She identified the manuscript collection as a *zibaldone* owned by a member of the company of the famous Italian actor Alberto Naselli (*detto* Ganassa), whose presence in Madrid is documented between 1580 and 1584. One of the six *opere reali* found in the collection, *Don Ramiro*, is almost certainly a version of *I tre principi di Salerno*.[11]

Zeno's choice of starting the action closer to its dénouement might be explained by a desire to adhere more closely to contemporary classical practice which favoured the observance of the unities and avoided the double catastrophe - or even the catastrophe altogether.[12] Nevertheless, evidence suggests that Zeno might at some stage have conceived the idea of beginning the action somewhat earlier: perhaps, as La Caze,

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also Montserrat Moli Frigola, 'Fuochi, teatri e macchine spagnole a Roma nel Settecento', in R. Assunto *et alii*, *Il teatro a Roma nel Settecento* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1989), pp. 215-58.

[9] I-Fn Magliab.II.I.80; I-Rc ms.4186 (*Ciro Monarca* collection) and I-Nn XI AA 41 (Raccolta Casamarciano-Croce). Francesco Cotticelli discusses the Neapolitan *scenari* in 'Per un'analisi drammaturgica della raccolta Casamarciano', *Ariel* 6, no.3 (1991), pp. 51-76. A full transcription of the collection is found in his Doctoral dissertation, *Contributo alla storia della Commedia dell'Arte a Napoli: I manoscritti Casamarciano* (Ph.D Diss., Università degli Studi di Salerno, Università degli Studi di Napoli 'Federico II' and Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1998).

[10] *Poesias varias*, E-Mp II-1586 (*olim* 2-B-10). María del Valle Ojeda Calvo, 'Nuevas aportaciones al estudio de la *Commedia dell'arte* en España: el *zibaldone* de Stefanello Bottarga', *Criticón* 63 (1995), pp. 119-38. I would like to thank Francesco Cotticelli for having drawn my attention to Ojeda Calvo's important discovery.

[11] Ojeda Calvo provides only the incipit of the *scenario Don Ramiro*. This strongly resembles the beginning of *I tre principi*. Ojeda Calvo herself suggests that *Don Ramiro* might be an early copy of the popular *scenario I tre principi*.

[12] With a single catastrophe the hero's situation could change from happy to unhappy or vice versa. Without the catastrophe, it remains unhappy from the beginning to the end; in this case the dramatist would keep the audience's interest alive throughout by showing possible solutions to avoid the tragic ending. A famous example is Thomas Corneille's *Le Comte d'Essex* (1678).

with the attempted seduction. There is, in fact, among Zeno's aforementioned autograph papers the text of an 'Atto terzo, scena I', not found in any of the three libretti examined, which shows Lodovico returning from war and singing 'Pace ha l'Italia'. Engelberta, Metilde, Bonoso, Ernesto, Arrigo and Ottone are all there to welcome him. While the omission or move of a particular scene during the revision process is of course not unusual, the scene in question could clearly not be moved back and forth without altering the layout of the main action. It is possible that the need for a balanced distribution of characters' appearances on stage, and hence of arias, might have determined Zeno's final choice. By commencing the action before Lodovico's return, Zeno would have made the same 'mistake' for which Pierre Corneille was blamed: like Pertharite (*Pertharite, roi des Lombards*, 1653), the famous Senesino would have appeared on stage only in the third act. If, on the other hand, the *dramma* had begun with Lodovico's departure, Senesino would have been absent from the stage for at least two entire acts!

The second difference between the two works concerns the ending. The *dramma* concludes happily: Engelberta is reunited with her husband, the second couple of lovers marry, one of the villains dies offstage, while the second is made to confess his wrong-doings. By contrast, the *scenario* ends tragically. The queen dies on stage with her servant Rosetta and Leonello, the faithful brother who had saved Briseida from the villain, and so does the cruel Fabio; Prince Oronte and Cola (Leonello's servant) are both left without their loved ones.

Although Zeno staged only a small portion of the story, many episodes in the plot, the ways in which the characters are grouped together, the arrangement of some scenes and, in some instances, even the way in which the language itself is used, are shared by the two works. Accusatory letters, sleep scenes, attempted poisonings and the apparition of the queen's ghost are all found in the two works. Omitting them altogether from the *scenario* would not damage the overall development of the action,

but would deprive the actors of opportunities for *lazzi* and *scene*, i.e. verbal and gestural improvisations.[13] The importance of *lazzi* and *scene* on the overall performance must have been considerable, as an actor's fame was frequently based upon them. Whether dramaturgically essential or not, they certainly formed an important contribution towards the success of the performance. The performance of *I tre principi* would not have survived, had these *topoi* been omitted. Zeno's *Engelberta* would not have survived either, but for different reasons. Some of these elements, the incriminating letter for example, appear to be well integrated in the main action and almost part of the subject itself, while others, such as the scene of the apparition, would be difficult to remove because of the number of functions they fulfil. None of them, however, functions as *deus ex machina.*

If we exclude extras and the minor secondary characters found only in the *scenario*, both the number and gender of the *dramatis personae* in the two works are identical. Despite their different hierarchical organisation, the *dramatis personae* play analogous roles and appear to follow similar patterns with regard to grouping:

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[13] I would distinguish between *lazzi* and *scene* where the actors could improvise freely and those scenes where the actors had a specific message to convey. An example of the second type is found at the beginning of the scenario: 'Discorre Oronte sopra la ribellata città di N.N., dice aver l'esercito all'ordine, chiede consiglio, se deve andare, o mandare uno de' suoi fratelli'.

Table 3.1 Characters in *I tre principi di Salerno* and *Engelberta*

Tre principi di Salerno	*Engelberta*
Fabio, Principe	Ernesto, Vicario imperiale
Ubaldo, Consigliere	Ottone, Capitano delle guardie
Oronte, Principe di Salerno	Lodovico, Imperatore
Leonello, fratello di O. e F.	Bonoso, Duca di Arles, amante di Metilde
Briseida, moglie d'Oronte	Engelberta, moglie di Lodovico
Rosetta, serva di Briseida	
Cola, servo di Leonello	
	Metilde, figlia di Engelberta
	Arrigo, Principe di Aquitania, amante di Metilde

In the *scenario*, the noble Briseida is always preceded by her servant Rosetta: Briseida never appears on stage or speaks unless Rosetta has had her *scena* first. The three characters of Metilde, Bonoso and Arrigo of the *dramma per musica* appear to be connected in a similar way: the appearance on stage of one of them is always followed by that of the others. Briseida, the equivalent character to the title role in the *dramma per musica*, hardly says a word in the *scenario* and dies at the beginning of the second act together with her servant Rosetta.[14] In the libretto, on the other hand, Engelberta is not only the corner-stone of the entire action, but also has the highest number of arias and appears on stage at more or less regular intervals throughout, in spite of her supposed death in Act IV (Act II in the Neapolitan three-act version). Her appearance

[14] It would be interesting to ascertain the reasons for such a strong emphasis on male characters; perhaps a temporary lack of women in the troupe of *comici* that used to perform this tragicomedy could have been the determining factor.

as a ghost at the beginning of Act V is presumably motivated not least by a desire of the librettist that she ought not to be absent from the stage for too long a period.

Leonello would appear to be the hero, as he tries to save Briseida. Nevertheless, the actor given more chance than any other to display his histrionic abilities is the servant Cola, who manages to escape from Fabio to inform Oronte of the true state of affairs. This hierarchy is reorganised in the libretto. Servants and comic characters are omitted and in the place of Cola we find Bonoso, Duke of Arles, in his role as orchestrator of the happy ending. His reward: a whole kingdom and Metilde's hand in marriage. Ernesto and Ottone are the two villains. Zeno had used a couple of villains before, in *Teuzzone* (1706), and Salvi followed suit, using the same idea in *Amore e maestà* (1715). In this way the two villains could discuss their plans at length and make them known to the audience with respect to *verisimiglianza* - just as Fabio and Ubaldo do in the *scenario*. Yet the two villains differ in character: Ernesto is morally 'mixed' and, overcome by remorse, eventually confesses his guilt, while Ottone is thoroughly evil and perishes. Political ambition is punished by death and passion by insanity.

Arrigo, the unrequited lover, although apparently of no significance to the action, seems to have a structural function: he completes the geometry of polarities that Zeno laid out so precisely. Engelberta's support of Arrigo in his love for Metilde, paralleled in the relationship between Lodovico and Bonoso, is reflected in the way that certain scenes are organised and characters grouped together. What clearly emerges is a binary division of the libretto's structure and moral message. The polarities between true and false, innocence and guilt, forgiveness and revenge, love and hatred, life and death, female and male are reflected in the parallelisms between characters (Lodovico-Bonoso and Engelberta-Arrigo, Lodovico-Ottone and Engelberta-Ernesto) and scenes (those about Metilde, between Lodovico and Bonoso, and between Engelberta and Arrigo). This polarity is even reflected in the contrast between the main action and the almost separate love intrigue surrounding Metilde, Bonoso and Arrigo. Not only do

these two storylines run alongside one another until the third act;[15] the scenes regarding the sub-plot contrast in tone with those of the main action and, placed at regular intervals, lighten the drama. The more deeply dramatic the main action is, the more frivolous the sub-plot becomes. For example, the scene in which Bonoso has to kill Engelberta (IV,iii) and in which Zeno, in compliance with the Aristotelian theory of tragedy, endeavours to incite *pietà* and *lacrime* through contrasting images of tenderness and horror, is followed by an almost comic duo in stichomythia between Metilde and her suitor Arrigo ('Prometti, gl'affetti' in IV, iv).

The arrangement of *lazzi* and *scene* in the *scenario* seems to follow a very similar pattern: some *lazzi* by Cola precede Leonello's tragic death (on stage) and Fabio's execution. It is in the first act, however, that we find a higher concentration of what one might term 'enclosed spaces' for acting and visual display. In these 'enclosed spaces', verbal and gestural improvisations are characterised by a circular structure whereby the improvised monologue or dialogue does not further the action, but returns to the initial situation that sparked it off. Besides 'circular', I would distinguish 'linear' improvisations, in which the actor progresses from one topic to another without returning to his point of departure. Unlike 'circular' improvisation, this type does contribute to the advancement of the action.

In our *scenario* there are examples of both 'circular' and 'linear' improvisations. A good example of the latter is the *scena equivoca* between Ubaldo and Cola. This scene is of great significance for the progress of the action, as important information about Fabio's intentions concerning Briseida passes from Ubaldo to Cola and, through Cola, on to Leonello: Ubaldo unintentionally reveals Fabio's plan to seduce Briseida. Cola will, of course, pass the information on to Leonello, who will then be in a position

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[15] In the third act Bonoso is asked by Lodovico to kill Engelberta; in reward he is to get Metilde's hand in marriage.

to come to the aid of Briseida. The way in which this is achieved is through the use of ambiguity, in particular, linguistic ambiguity.

scena 6
Ubaldo e Cola

> Ubaldo fa scena sopra le due ore, esagera contro il Principe, in questa Cola fa scena equivoca, Ubaldo per aver a condurre Briseida, Cola sopra la guerra, alla fine s'intendono, Ubaldo prega Cola che non dica niente a nessuno, lui che non parlerà, va via per andare a dirlo al suo padrone, resta Ubaldo [...][16]

The ambiguity is probably achieved by means of two distinct monologues clashing with each other and gradually merging into a dialogue. Andrea Perrucci provides some information about *scene equivoche* when he discusses 'Delle scene in metafora e continuate, equivoche, ed altre' in his *Dell'arte rappresentativa*:

> Molti di essi [dialogues in continuous metaphor] premeditati ritroverai; ma farli all'improvviso è la cosa più difficile, che vi sia, dovendo essere i Rappresentanti ingegnosi, così chi propone la metafora, come chi finge di non capirla.[17]

Ambiguous language plays a key role also in La Caze's tragicomedy as well as in *Engelberta*. The two dialogues between Lodovico and Engelberta, the first concerning Ernesto's calumny and the second Ottone's deception (II,iii; III,v), resulted in Engelberta's conviction due to the misunderstandings generated by the highly metaphorical language employed. Ernesto's well orchestrated plan to deceive Lodovico

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[16] Transcribed by Adolfo Bartoli, *Scenari inediti della commedia dell'arte* (Florence: Sansoni, 1880). 'Ubaldo does *scena* on the two hours, rails against the Prince, in the meantime Cola does *scena equivoca*, Ubaldo about his having to take Briseida [to Fabio], Cola on the war, at the end they understand one another, Ubaldo begs Cola not to say anything to anybody, he [says] that he will not say a word [and] leaves to tell his master [Leonello], Ubaldo remains [...]'. A full transcription of the *scenario* is given here in Appendix 2.

[17] 'Many of these dialogues in continuous metaphor are to be found in written form; but to improvise them is the most difficult thing there is. Both the performers have to be skilled, he who initiates the metaphor and he who acts as if he did not comprehend it'. Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa premeditata, ed all'improvviso. Parti due* [...] *del dottor Andrea Perrucci* [...] (Naples: M.L. Mutio, 1699), Regola XI.

(and Engelberta) includes one of the best tricks of *commedia dell'arte*; he makes sure that the Emperor overhears the closing statement of his sham plea to Engelberta for forgiveness:

> *Ernesto*
> Giunge il Sovran, l'arte or mi giovi al Cielo
> *alzando più al solito la voce.*
> Ne rinnovo la fe. Mai non sia vero
> Ch'arda d'impura fiamma il cor di Ernesto.[18]

To Engelberta it confirms Ernesto's repentance, while to Lodovico it marks Ernesto's firm rejection of Engelberta's *avances*.

Deceit and falsehood seem to penetrate the whole drama at various levels. Lodovico does not know whether his wife is guilty or innocent, nor does he know whether she is dead or alive - the audience is kept equally in the dark. Engelberta appears to him, but is she a ghost? Is he dreaming? Metilde is caught between Bonoso and Arrigo (who are not themselves sure about Metilde's resolution); when she thinks she is finally going to wed Bonoso as a reward for his dutiful obedience to Lodovico, she discovers that precisely because of this she cannot marry him. *Nouvelle Chimène*! Even the use of adversative and hypothetical speech in arias such as 'Vorrei poter amar'[19] or 'Fa che passi un altro core',[20] 'Credesti esser amante'[21] and 'Non tel diss'io'[22] contributes to the confusion, even alluding, perhaps, to the distinction between reality and theatrical fiction itself. The only two characters not affected by the general ambiguity are the two villains, Ernesto and Ottone. However, while the plot unravels

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[18] *Engelberta* II,i (Venice, 1709). Unless otherwise stated, act and scene indications refer to the libretto for Venice of 1709.
[19] Naples, 1709.
[20] Milan, 1708 and Venice, 1709.
[21] Naples, 1709.
[22] Milan, 1709; Venice, 1709 and Naples, 1709.

and everything becomes gradually clearer Ernesto is driven insane by horrific visions and ghosts.

Through the use of linguistic ambiguity the drama is brought forward. Yet the characters themselves also exercise an active force by means of rhetorical tools. Ambiguity is used by the poet as one means of arousing pity in the key scenes between Lodovico and Engelberta (II,ii-iii and III,v). The short aria 'Rea di morte, crudele, perché?', carved out of the recitative (III,vi), plays on the unanswered question. Unlike the audience, Engelberta is totally unaware of the situation around her, and the contrast between awareness and ignorance enhances the image of vulnerability that she portrays. This is strengthened further through the stereotypical association with harmless little animals in arias such as 'Allor che geme e piange' and 'Usignuolo che col volo', and probably does succeed in moving the audience in favour of Engelberta. It fails to move Lodovico simply because he is not present on stage when she sings her arias; to observe *verisimiglianza*, Zeno opted for the rather unconvincing exit of Lodovico, who returns promptly after Engelberta's 'Rea di morte'.

The kindling of affections can also be achieved through the use of images of horror. Engelberta's final speech before being killed makes a moderate use of these images, visually supported by the sight of Bonoso's bloody sword. The same images are recalled by the narration of Engelberta's death (in the style of death narrations in tragedy, possibly equating Engelberta with a tragic heroine). The description of horrific events through the use of hypotyposis enables Bonoso not only to communicate the facts, but also to bring before Ernesto's eyes these same images and the horror they had kindled in Bonoso at the time. Bonoso's narration does not simply acquaint the characters and the audience with events that took place offstage and offer the opportunity to enjoy beautiful poetry as such; it incriminates Ernesto and allows the dénouement to begin.

Stage sets, like poetry, can be enjoyed in their own right, and simply the sight of a magnificent piece of scenery can be the source of much pleasure. Often, however, the effect is magnified when action, poetry, music and stage sets are geared towards the same objective. Some events could take place almost anywhere, others seem to be persistently associated with special places. The changing of stage sets can even be used to maintain the unity of time by showing events happening almost simultaneously in different places. The *scenario* is not always clear about stage set changes, although changes of place (if not of stage set) are occasionally implied. Both the *scenario* and the *dramma per musica* make use of changes in place to show contemporaneous events.[23] In the *dramma per musica*, they are concentrated in the first two acts; the state of separation of the couple, caused by doubt, is emphasised by spacial separation. The action of the last three acts is, by contrast, shown in chronological order, which determines a tighter unfolding of the drama.

Two *loci*, I believe, have a special place not only in Zeno's drama (and partly in the *scenario*), but also in theatrical imagery *tout court*: Nature and the Sepulchre. I shall not endeavour to delve deep into the imagery associated with nature over the past centuries from the Dantesque *selva oscura* to the Arcadian *Bosco Parrasio* - the ideal place of innocence and happiness - but would like to draw attention, later in the chapter, to the different shades of meaning and function which natural settings can convey while interacting with action, poetry and music.

Both La Caze's *tragicomédie* and the *scenario* make use of the *topos* of the ombra scene. Yet while the apparition of the Queen's ghost to Clarimène (the offender) plays a fundamental part in the dénouement of *L'inceste supposé*, the three ghosts of the *scenario* seem to have been introduced merely for visual spectacle. The question

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[23] It is unlikely that the *comici* could afford machinery and scenery comparable to that which was available to the *operisti*. However they might have had access to those of the opera companies, as some theatres were open to both *commedia* and opera. See Chapter 2, '*Commedia dell'Arte* and *Dramma per Musica*'.

whether these scenes are necessary to the action or not is, however, insignificant. From the study of *commedia dell'arte scenari* and contemporary performing techniques emerges the picture of a type of drama in which the main interest resides in the *scena* as an enclosed entity (made up of stage set, movement on stage, acting display and occasional employment of music) rather than as a part in relation to the whole. I believe this is actually what draws seventeenth-century *dramma per musica* closer to *commedia dell'arte* rather than to any other form of theatre. It was only at the turn of the century, when the influence of classical dramaturgy found its way into *dramma per musica* mainly through the influence of French drama, that poets began to place greater importance on the dramatic construction of both the parts that constitute the drama and their relation to the whole. Corneille's six *parties intégrantes*, which closely reflect Aristotle's, can also be seen as a list - in reverse order - of the degree of immediacy of perception of the whole drama. It is implied that a good drama is one in which all parts are interrelated and complement the *sujet* at different levels. Zeno is one of these librettists who, before Metastasio, paid attention to the relationship of the parts to the whole and promoted the picture of the poet as the ultimate arbiter of the whole performance.[24]

I suspect that Zeno was actually reworking an older libretto - a libretto which, as of yet, I have been unable to identify. The traces of a sub-plot, which he manages to integrate fully into the main action, the presence of two or three arias for the same singer in quick succession and examples of old-fashioned *recitativi ariosi* with repetition of the first lines are clues that point towards an older model. Still, the libretto also shows the traits of the 'reform', such as the low number of *dramatis personae* (seven), the absence of comic characters, the predominance of scene-ending exit arias (the few exceptions were

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[24] For a discussion of Metastasio's poetry with regard to staging, see Elena Sala Di Felice, 'L'ordine della parola: Ideologia, drammaturgia, spettacolo in Metastasio', in *Metastasio: Ideologia, drammaturgia, spettacolo* (Milan: Franco Angeli Editore, 1983), pp. 7-147.

eliminated in Venice, but partly reinstated in Naples), the strict observance of the *liaison des scènes* (with one exception) and the integration of all the episodes into the main action. *Engelberta* presumably fulfilled the expectations of the *letterati* by broadly observing the unities of place, time and, at least from Act III onwards, action.

Although the emphasis in *Engelberta* is largely placed on the incitement of pity, in more than one place Zeno indulges in the creation of horror images. One of these is to be found in the final duel between Bonoso and Ernesto: driven towards insanity by his overwhelming remorse, Ernesto is persecuted by ghosts and plagued by horrific visions of hell. The duel is a theatrical way of expressing conflicts which in literature would be expressed through words. It is a concession to spectacle, and Zeno is not the only librettist to use it. Nevertheless, with the introduction of Ernesto's restless delirium, the poet translates images into words, as if he wanted to communicate the character's extraordinary state of mind more forcefully to those who could not see it - the readers.

Nature and Artifice in *Engelberta*: the Contribution of Music

What happened to Zeno and Pariati's text once it was set to music by three - actually five - very different composers? Were Zeno's literary ambitions supported and preserved by the music? To what extent was Zeno's and Pariati's text designed for a musical setting and theatrical performance? I shall endeavour to answer these questions through a study of three extant scores. In particular, this will focus on the representation of nature, a *locus* that has been invested by Zeno with functions beyond those of providing a setting for the action, and, briefly, on the perpetration of deception through the employment of gesture and acting techniques.

A brief description of the three musical settings of the *dramma per musica* will help to contextualise their styles. Andrea Stefano Fiorè's score, which reflects the first production of *Engelberta* in Milan (June 1708), is held at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin. Also extant are Tommaso Albinoni's and Francesco Gasparini's score for Venice (1709) and Antonio Orefice's and Francesco Mancini's for Naples (1709);[25] the latter was probably presented to Charles III or sent directly to the Imperial court at Vienna after the performance at the Teatro S. Bartolomeo in 1709.[26]

Several of the aria texts appear to have passed from the Milan production to Venice and Naples. Similar cuts in the recitative and the presence of three new aria texts in both the Venice and Naples manuscripts suggest that the libretto passed from Milan to Venice and from there - either directly or indirectly - on to Naples.

While the libretti for these three productions are probably closely connected, the musical settings differ considerably in style and approach to the text. Fiorè's setting is characterised by dense orchestral writing, which often obscures the singing, and a tendency to experiment with different combinations of voice and instruments. In addition, the presence of entrance and medial arias seem rather old-fashioned as compared with works written by composers working in the not so distant Venice, and appear to relate Fiorè's opera more closely to the style of Roman and Bolognese composers. Throughout, the structure of the text seems to have determined the musical organisation, as different combinations of voice and instruments correspond to different stanzas. Very few arias show signs of more modern tendencies. The playful gavotta 'Fa che passi un altro core' is one such aria; here the extensive use of unison writing, first between the voice and the first violin part and then between the voice and the viola part, reduces the real parts to two, thereby leaving the voice rather exposed. The four-

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[25] Andrea Stefano Fiorè, *Engelberta* (Milan, 1708): I-Tn G 292; Tommaso Albinoni and Francesco Gasparini, *Engelberta* (Venice, 1709): D-Bds 445; Francesco Mancini and Antonio Orefice, *Engelberta* (Naples, 1709): A-Wn MS 18057.

[26] Reinhard Strohm, 'A Context for Griselda: the Teatro Capranica, 1711-1724', in *Alessandro Scarlatti und seine Zeit*, ed. by M. Lütolf (Bern: Haupt, 1995), p. 88n.

part writing is only reintroduced to emphasise the cadence on 'e con quello t'amerò' and for the instrumental ritornello.

Several sections of recitative were cut for the Venetian production, two arias were substituted and six omitted.[27] Most of the cut arias were originally placed at the beginning or middle of scenes; their elimination sometimes bore important consequences. For example, by cutting Bonoso's opening aria 'Quercie cadete', the whole spectacular scene that originally opened the opera is eliminated and the *dramma* now instead launches off *in medias res.* Most arias are da capo arias. More than two-thirds are orchestrally accompanied and more than a few make use of unison techniques. Compared to Fiorè's score, Albinoni's and Gasparini's appears more consistent in the form of da capo arias. Gasparini seems more adventurous in the combination of voice and instruments, but more anchored to the past in the use of imitative techniques. The Venetian score, especially Albinoni's Acts I, II and III, also reveals a wealth of 'easier', pleasant, short-spanned, and clearly defined melodic invention.

Together with a more consistent use of unison techniques, Orefice (Act I and II,i-xi) and Mancini (from II,xii to the end of Act III) differ markedly from their Venetian colleagues in their approach to the text. Some aria texts had undergone slight modifications in metre by the time they arrived in Naples; lines had been lengthened and the easy rhymes eliminated in order to fit a longer-spanned melody:

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[27] There are 43 arias and two duets in Fiorè (Milan, 1708), 38 arias and one duet in Albinoni and Gasparini (Venice, 1709) and 39 arias and one duet in Orefice and Mancini (Naples, 1709).

Il dolce ardore (Milan/Venice)

Il dolce ardore
Di questo core
Era già spento
Con la mia fè:
Ma tu l'avvivi in me
Con la speranza.

Era già spento in me (Naples)

Era già spento in me
Quel dolce ardor
L'impegno di tua fè
Hor ravvivar lo fa
Con la speranza

The longer lines could also meet the preference of the Neapolitans for amorous arias as against the Venetian taste for 'graceful sentiments', which were apparently better expressed - if we are to trust Gaetano Salvadori's opinion - through the employment of shorter lines.[28] The abundance of vocal flourishes and, in particular, the frequent passages where the text is broken up by repeats of the words, even in the first statement of a line, are evident throughout the Naples setting. These techniques, often used to match the length and contour of the melodic line, reveal a greater interest in the words as a vehicle of the music; yet they deprioritise the text itself.

Most of the drama takes place outdoors. The Venetian libretto indicates the following set changes: *Campagna*; *Salone imperiale*; *Cortile interno*; *Giardino*; *Principio di foltissimo bosco*; *Gabinetto imperiale*; *Luogo di sepolcri imperiali*; *Anfiteatro*. The manuscript scores are less consistent as far as stage directions are concerned. Orefice leaves out all scene descriptions apart from the first one (*Borgo attendato con fabbriche maestose, con veduta di Aquisgrana, ed arco trionfale*), while Mancini keeps all of them. All stage directions found in the manuscript for Naples concur with those of the Venice production. The Milan score reports *Gabinetto imperiale* and *Campagna*; these are the only two scene directions to be found, together with an additional *didascalia* for the Engelberta apparition in the Sepulchre scene: *Si aprono tutti i Sepolcri che con la lucida trasparenza figurano una specie di Campi Elisi e da essi [si vede] uscire*

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[28] Giuseppe Gaetano Salvadori, *Poetica toscana all'uso* (Naples, 1691).

Engelberta tutta di bianco nobilmente vestita.[29] With the addition of this vision of the *Campi Elisi*, the scenes portraying natural landscapes increase to four (out of six outdoor scenes).

This emphasis on nature may be related to the fact that *Engelberta* is essentially a drama dealing with private affairs. The only two instances in which the Emperor is seen in his public status are during the finale in the *Anfiteatro* for the public rehabilitation of the Empress Engelberta and, in the Naples and Milan versions, in the opening scene, when Lodovico is triumphantly welcomed by Bonoso and his retinue on his return to Aquisgrana. Nevertheless, the shift from 'public' to 'private' in the latter scene is almost immediate and, according to the Milan score, is visually supported by the sight of Lodovico dismounting from the triumphal chariot.

While any reference to the public welcoming of Lodovico was cut for the Venice production, the Naples reviser inserted a transition aria for Lodovico, 'Torno a voi'. The first stanza of this aria portrays the Emperor returning from a victorious military campaign,

Torno a voi o patrie mura
Trionfante e vincitor

while the second shifts to Lodovico's personal thoughts[30]

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[29] The *didascalia* does not read very clearly. The *lucida trasparenza* (shining transparency) could perhaps refer to a transparent veil drawn in front of Engelberta. Angelo Ingegneri, *Sui modi di rappresentare i cori, gli intermezzi, gli echi e le ombre* (1598), in *Il teatro italiano: La tragedia del Cinquecento*, ed. by M. Ariani, vol. 2 (Turin: Einaudi, 1977), pp. 1069-80, suggests the use of such a veil: 'Il suo sito io direi poscia ch'egli avesse ad essere l'ultima parte della principale prospettiva [...] perché la fronte della detta prospettiva [...] più commodamente si può tutta coprire (et anco a suo tempo scoprirla) d'un velo nero, ch'io stimo necessarissimo anch'esso per due rispetti. L'uno, perché dietro allui, e massimamente s'ei fosse alquanto folto, in certo modo si travede tutto quello che vi si fa; l'altro per dar maggiore verisimiglianza alla condizione dell'ombra, che come cosa infernale deve far tenebroso l'aere dintorno a sé, così come i beati il rendono luminoso [...]' (p. 1079).

[30] From Bonoso's words, which follow Lodovico's aria, we understand that he has heard what Lodovico sang. The aria, therefore, becomes part of the action.

Ma a che pro se in fra i trofei
Mi fan guerra i pensier miei
E rubello in petto ho il cor.

Engelberta is a drama in which the court, a place of deadly intrigues and falsehood, is juxtaposed with nature, a place of rest and beatitude. These images associated with nature are inspired by the contemporary Accademia dell'Arcadia and the Virgilian theme of bucolic repose. The way in which nature itself is portrayed, with its trees, birds and springs, refers to an ideal landscape found again and again in other dramas and in poetry.

The very need for locating the action in space was probably inherited from ancient rhetoric. In judicial oratory, any piece of evidence had to be produced in the *probatio* or *argumentatio* of the *inventio*. Here rhetoric provided a number of arguments and of general ideas (*loci)* that could be utilised in any speech. In the *argumentum a loco* evidence was to be drawn from the place where the crime or, more generally, the event, had taken place. The ideal landscape, the poetical *topos* of the *locus amoenus*, was to be absorbed by rhetoric and to become a source of natural images for any kind of speech and poetry.[31]

Medieval lexicographers and writers on style considered the *locus amoenus* a necessary requisite of poetry. Later, and more specifically for opera, Pier Jacopo Martello advised librettists always to include *simile* arias with natural references in their *drammi per musica* as a powerful tool to recreate, rather than simply describe, the idea they wanted to express:

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[31] Ernst Robert Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern: A. Francke Verlag, 1948). Engl.tr. by W.R. Trask, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953), p. 193.

> Ti raccomando nelle arie qualche comparazione di farfalletta, di augelletto o di ruscelletto: queste son tutte cose che guidano l'idea in non so che di ridente, che la ricrea, e siccome sono venusti questi obbietti cosi il son le parole che li rammentano e li dipingono alla fantasia; ed il compositor della musica sempre vi si spazia con avvenenza di note[32]

In Zeno's *Engelberta* there is one example of a *simile* aria, although this is not exactly of the 'ridente' type suggested by Martello: 'Allor che geme e piange' (II,ix).[33] Still, the image of the little turtle-dove immediately conveys images of tenderness and vulnerability normally associated with a small bird, while the action of crying, which is proper to man only, transfers these attributes to the character of Engelberta; this transfer is reinforced by the geometrical structure of the text and by its semantic contrasts and correspondences:

> A l'or che geme, e piange
> La bella tortorella
> Nel suo dolor si vede
> Il suo tradito amor.
>
> E quando cerca, e chiama
> Chi fugge, e più non l'ama,
> Insegna la sua fede
> Sl caro traditor

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[32] Pier Jacopo Martello, *Della tragedia antica e moderna* (Rome, 1715), in P.J. Martello, *Scritti critici e satirici*, ed. by Hannibal S. Noce (Bari: Laterza, 1963), p. 290. 'In the arias I advise you to use similes involving little butterflies, a little bird, a little brook; these things all lead the imagination to I know not what pleasant realms of thought and so refresh it; and just as those objects are charming, so too are the words that conjure them up and portray them to our fancy; and the musical composer always soars in them with his loveliest notes'. Trans. by Piero Weiss, 'Pier Jacopo Martello (1715): An Annotated Translation', *Musical Quarterly* 66 (1980), p. 397.

[33] For other examples of this aria type, see Antonio Salvi's libretti *Publio Cornelio Scipione* (Livorno, 1704) I,viii; *Berenice regina d'Egitto* (Florence, 1709) III,vi; *Amore e maestà* (Florence, 1715) II,xiv; *Scanderbeg* (Florence, 1718) I,xiii; *Le amazoni vinte da Ercole* (Reggio, 1718) II,v.

While the image of the turtle-dove is used to illustrate certain attributes of the heroine, the sight of tears, according to the aria text, is itself an image which conveys another abstract idea: betrayed love. Likewise, the action of searching and calling the loved one becomes a visible and audible way of expressing faithfulness - a concept that would otherwise hardly gain theatrical presence.[34] The *simile* aria is not only a rhetorical device to reinforce the kindling of affections, but also a valid aid to the composer. Martello himself alluded to the aptness of these texts for musical setting in the passage quoted above. From Heinichen's writings we understand that abstract ideas are more difficult to express in music when they are not directly linked to specific affections or spatial images.[35] Conversely, actions such as 'calling' and 'searching' or the use of words expressing the affections themselves can easily inspire the composer with musical ideas, while other images can achieve the same objective only through metaphorical association.[36]

As far as the musical setting of texts similar to our 'Tortorella' is concerned, Heinichen advises composers wishing to express the tenderness of the affections suggested by the words to use the *siciliana*, 'a form of composition willingly expressing languid thoughts'.[37] Fiorè, Albinoni and Orefice all seem to concur with Heinichen. The use of the *siciliana* is indeed sufficient to express the 'languid thoughts' that permeate the entire text. At the same time, the composers, especially Albinoni and Orefice, emphasise single words and lines by means of more or less extensive vocal flourishes, leaps and progressions.

'La bella tortorella' is part of a series of scenes and musical numbers geared towards the incitement of pity; these include the scenes where the strongly ambiguous

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[34] Note the precedence given to the verb expressing the action, rather than to the subject making the action, or the object, the recipient of the action.
[35] Johann David Heinichen, *Der Generalbaß in der Komposition* (Dresden 1728), ed. and trans. by Geroge J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1986). See above, Chapter 1.
[36] See Chapter 1, 'Poetics and Rhetoric as Cultural Background of *Dramma per Musica*'.
[37] Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment*, p. 356.

dialogues between Engelberta and Lodovico occur, Lodovico's arias 'Selvagge amenità' and 'Cari sassi', and Engelberta's 'Rea di morte', 'Io sospiro' and 'La bella tortorella', as well as other scenes set in natural environments. Throughout these scenes and arias, nature emerges as the *locus* most suited to the arousal of pity.

At least three times during the opera Lodovico retires to a natural environment to cry freely. As the pleasure of tears is denied to the Emperor, Lodovico has to step outside the official character of his role and, physically, outside the official walls of the court. The opening stage-set shows the composite sight of a lowland with a *veduta* of a city on the one side and a country palace on the other. In the Milan version, this same sight is gradually revealed by the felling of the many trees that stood in the way of Lodovico's chariot. His aria, 'Selvagge amenità', is set within this frame (I,ii). The references to nature in the first stanza and to courtly environment in the second reflect and are reflected in the dual sight of country and city:

Selvagge amenità,
Tra voi ricercherà
Qualche riposo
L'alma agitata.

Splendor di Corte,
Favor di sorte
Renderla illustre può,
Ma non beata.
Selvagge...

This is a text that Heinichen would probably have deemed most inspiring, as it presents the opportunity to express more than just one affection. In both the productions that are most likely to have been supervised by Zeno himself, 'Selvagge amenità' marks Lodovico's first appearance on stage and it is likely that Zeno had calculated with some care how to introduce the character to the audience. Through the references to fame and court, Lodovico is presented as a ruler and through the words 'l'alma agitata' as a

character in inner turmoil and in search of peace. His first aria functions as *captatio benevolentiae*: he immediately qualifies as worthy of compassion, a victim himself, neither more nor less than Engelberta. From the beginning the audience is given to understand that whatever Lodovico may do, he will be forgiven.

The references to royalty and unhappiness found in the second stanza, as well as the status of the character who had to sing it, guided Fiorè's choice for a sarabanda, a ceremonial *largo e spiccato* (Ex. 3.1). Albinoni chose 'amenità', 'riposo' and 'beata' for his galant minuet (Ex. 3.2), while Orefice, instead, drew inspiration from the lines 'tra voi ricercherà/qualche riposo/l'alma agitata' from the first stanza for the imitative texture of his *largo* (Ex. 3.3). All three choices are of course plausible. Nonetheless, Orefice's and Albinoni's solutions in my opinion demonstrate a stronger sense of theatre. Orefice wrote music that suggests action on stage. The pressing imitative fragments of the first and second violins, first introduced by the opening stepwise motion of the continuo, transmit a general sense of physical and spiritual agitation suggested by the lines quoted above. We can almost see Lodovico, overwhelmed by his anxiety, wandering around (or possibly just letting his eyes wander) and looking for peace. The instruments never actually cover the voice, but rather move around it, at times almost intertwining with it. The resulting effect is a *chiaroscuro* of differing intensities of sound, which might reflect the oppression of Lodovico's soul finding temporary relief (Ex. 3.3). Conversely, Albinoni creates a musical *locus amoenus* which complements the coordination between the various parts of the drama (certainly between stage sets, poetry and pathos, maybe even ethos) that Zeno tried to achieve. Despite the absence of explicit musical references to nature, such as those found in Engelberta's aria 'Usignuolo che col volo', Albinoni succeeds in expressing that sense of repose and bliss suggested by the lines in question. After the long and important recitative - which is therefore unsuitable for cutting - between Lodovico and Ernesto,

this aria is for the audience almost what nature is for Lodovico: an island of tranquillity and beauty.

A discussion of the representation of nature in *Engelberta* would not be complete without a discussion of the 'birdsong' aria 'Usignuolo che col volo' in IV,ii. As one might expect, Fiorè, Mancini and Gasparini used very similar musical techniques to illustrate this *topos*. All three searched for musical means to imitate birdsong, flying and, in general, to recreate in music the pastoral atmosphere. A closer look at one of these settings can help us understand the rhetorical means employed in order to achieve this objective as well as its meaning within the scene. Gasparini's setting, an aria of almost Vivaldian flavour, is the richest among the three and ideally summarises an entire generation of birdsong arias. The aria precedes Engelberta's supposed assassination. Still unaware of the terrible fate that awaits her, Engelberta is in the *foltissimo bosco* waiting for Bonoso. The scenic unit had opened with Ottone's aria 'Sdegni implacabili'. This aria had prepared the audience for the horror that was to follow and magnified the gloomy atmosphere already created by the sight of a dark and intricate woodland. Engelberta's accompanied recitative produces a sense of ominous waiting. She sits by a tree, another *topos*, and talks about her sorrows to nature, to the stones, the trees and the birds, in order to invite the pity denied her by Lodovico. Fiorè and Gasparini set both Ottone's aria (because of its metre and invocatory nature) and Engelberta's recitative (because of the reference to shades) as traditional invocations of the furies and the underworld. Mancini, on the contrary, provided a more heroic portrayal of Ottone; the sense of mystery created by the music, inspired by the adjectives 'romite' and 'solitarie', is splendid.

The contrast between the preceding recitative (and Ottone's aria before it) and 'Usignuolo', which is also reflected in the representation of nature as a place of death (found, too, in the *scenario*) and as a *locus amoenus*, creates a kind of harmony of opposites that results in the enhancement of pathos. In this dark atmosphere of death

we find most of the characteristics of the ideal landscape: trees, springs, silence, birds and even a gentle breeze (implied by the reference to the 'frondi costanti'). Gasparini succeeds in producing the full picture of this ideal landscape, in which we actually hear Engelberta addressing the birds and asking them to tell Lodovico about her anguish. The result is the arousal of that pity that she had been longing for.

Usignuolo, che col volo
Sciogli il canto in verdi rami
Vanne, e dì, tu, che ben ami
Al mio sposo il mio martiro.

Dì, che cede alla mia fede
Ogni tronco in quelle piante
Che ogni fronda è più costante
Di quel cor per cui sospiro.

The music is the essential element through which this objective is achieved. The text only communicates Engelberta's actions and the fact that nature pities her. Yet, how does she succeed in moving nature (and the audience with it)? The rhetorical tools used by Engelberta are to be found in the interaction of visual images, poetry and music. Gasparini follows the poetic text very closely indeed. For such persuasive action, the mere mention of birds, trees and leaves (i.e. *inventio*) and their attributes in an embellished manner (i.e. *elocutio*) is not sufficient. *Dispositio* here plays an important role; see, for example, the gradual shift from nouns referring to nature to those referring to Engelberta's pain: with 'Usignuolo' at the beginning of the aria, then 'martiro' at the end of the first stanza and 'sospiro' at the end of the second. Rhetoric has always taken great care over opening and closing statements: the opening and closing positions of these important words ensure the poetical and musical emphasis of both. The emphasis on nature and its description is also strengthened by expanding on 'Usignuolo' and hence postponing the verbal message until the last verse.

The singing and twittering of birds among the branches is imitated by the violins playing in unison in the opening bars (Ex. 3.4). Maybe even two or three different birdsongs are depicted against the uniform shaking of fronds ('ogni fronda è più costante') recreated by the continuo. The voice and the birds talk to themselves, imitating each other's melodic line (bb. 11-18). The birds' flight ('sciogliersi') is rendered by the contour of the vocal line (bb. 19-20), while the imperative gesture 'Vanne, dì' is highlighted by the interruption of the flow of the singing (b. 27). The sudden shift from A major to A minor in bar 25 and the wide leaps of a sixth (minor ascending and major descending) and perfect fourth (bb. 24-25) express the word 'martiro'. Later (bb. 33-34) these intervals are narrowed to thirds in order not to obscure the accompaniment of the violins imitating the birdsong (the chromatic ascent on 'al mio sposo il mio martiro' in bars 32-33 had itself been heard at the beginning of the aria as an imitation of birdsong). Engelberta's rolling melodic line and progressions in the B section (already heard on 'usignuolo che col volo') underline and complete her persuasive performance (bb. 43-45). The rests which disrupt the word-flow, illustrating 'sospiro' (bb. 53-55), complete the passage from the description of nature (predominant in the A section) to Engelberta's personal suffering and the violins, which at the beginning of the aria imitated nature, now complement Engelberta's 'sighing' music with rests and triplets (bb. 52-54). It seems as though nature itself, having witnessed Engelberta's torment, is now sighing with her.

Just as Engelberta had asked the birds to be messengers of her love, Lodovico addresses the stones of Engelberta's grave just before the ghost appears. The dramaturgy of the entire scenic unit mirrors Engelberta's death scene and this establishes a sense of continuity of two events: Engelberta's (supposed) death and her (supposed) return from death. Table 3.2 summarises the dramaturgical similarities between the scenes:

Table 3.2. *Engelberta* (Venice, 1709). Dramaturgical similarities between IV,i-iii and V,i-iv

IV,i	V,i
Ottone's recitative and aria 'Sdegni implacabili' sets the atmosphere and forecasts the outcome of the scene: he will kill Engelberta, should Bonoso fail to do so.	Bonoso's recitative (dialogue with Lodovico) sets the atmosphere and forecasts the outcome of the scene: Engelberta will grant Lodovico forgiveness.
ii Engelberta's recitative and aria 'Usignuolo' in which she addresses the birds	ii Lodovico's recitative and aria 'Cari sassi' in which he addresses Engelberta's grave **Engelberta appears**
iii Dialogue between Bonoso and Engelberta at the end of which she accepts death and forgives Lodovico. Engelberta's exit aria 'Il morire con innocenza' [Milan:'Non è ria sorte']	iii Dialogue between Lodovico and Engelberta. By the end of the scene Lodovico seeks death. Engelberta's exit aria 'Vivi per mio comando'
	iv Lodovico's aria 'Tanto sospirerò'
Engelberta 'dies' (offstage)	

The close analogy implied by dramaturgical similarities between these scenes also serves to create a sense of intimacy between Lodovico and Engelberta, thereby

initiating the process of reuniting the couple which is reinforced in the 'ombra' scene and completed by the happy ending.

The apparition scene is also pure entertainment of the spectacular kind. According to the Milan score, *Si aprono tutti i Sepolcri che con la lucida trasparenza figurano una specie di Campi Elisi e da essi [si vede] uscire Engelberta tutta di bianco nobilmente vestita.* What we have here, though, is a theatrical *topos* 'revisited', as Engelberta is not dead at all. The opposition between life and death, between dream and reality, so characteristic of *ombra* scenes, seems to symbolise the polarity between truth and deception that runs through the whole opera. The confusion between true and false gradually disintegrates, in the same way that the separation between Lodovico and Engelberta is eliminated and the couple are reunited. Not only is Lodovico's monologue turned into a dialogue; his solo aria becomes an aria *a due* - at least in Gasparini's version. Of these three settings, this is the most modern approach to a very traditional theatrical *topos*; the other two composers treat Engelberta as a real ghost and follow more traditional practices.

Ghosts in operas normally communicate through recitative, often accompanied recitative, and they are only occasionally endowed with arias[38] - never *arie a due*, as far as I am aware. The effect of Engelberta unexpectedly taking over the vocal line after a few bars is of surprising beauty (Ex. 3.5). The solemn bass of repeated quavers remains unaltered as she recalls Lodovico's opening melody (bb. 18-19 of the adagio section); her vocal line then moves away by creating a contrast with Lodovico's, to suggest her intention of challenging her husband's words (bb. 20-22). Finally, Engelberta's vocal part follows his again as the text plays on 'lamenti' (bb. 13-15) and 'menti' (bb. 24-26).[39] The high pitch, the rests and the appoggiatura effect on 'e dice menti' succeed in depicting the ethereal consistency of the ghost. Despite the length of the recitative

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[38] One example is found in Domenico Freschi's *Incoronazione di Dario* (Venice, 1684).
[39] Fiorè and Orefice used the repetitions for echo effects.

which precedes Engelberta's forgiveness, we can sense that she has already forgiven Lodovico as she joins him in his aria.

Stage directions are very rare in contemporary scores. The manuscript score for the Milan production is an exceptional example, as it provides detailed stage annotations (some of which were absent from the printed libretto) for the scene in which Ernesto leads the Emperor to believe that Engelberta tried to seduce him (I,ii) (Ex. 3.6).[40] Not only does Ernesto accuse the Empress of infidelity by means of a defamatory letter, he also manages to gain the confidence of the Emperor by pointing the finger at himself, claiming that he, a humble and faithful subject, most certainly rejected the Empress's advances.

Two types of stage direction enable Ernesto to carry out his deception. The first refers to gestures and movements on stage. Some of these are not particularly relevant to deceit, such as those referring to the reading of the letter: *mostrandoli una lettera* [showing him a letter], *la prende* [he takes it], *legge* [he reads], *rendendogli la lettera* [returning the letter]. Yet others are essential in order to emphasise the contrast between truth and deceit. While the truth is revealed through Ernesto's *a parte*, the deception is expressed both by inflections in Ernesto's recitative (see, for example, the unexpected perfect fifth descent followed by a rest in bar 44 under 'e se non riedi' (p. 225), and the isolation of 'pronto rimedio' (bb. 47-48, p. 226), to sneakily prompt Lodovico to punish Engelberta) and by repeated acts of humility and respect for the Emperor: *con un profondo inchino* [with a deep bow], accompanied by a descent of a perfect fifth in the vocal line (bb. 36-37, p. 225), *s'inginocchia* [he kneels down], again the voice following the action of kneeling by means of a descending melodic line (bb. 87-88, p. 227), *in atto dimesso* [in an attitude of humility] *abbassando gli occhi*

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[40] Another interesting example of the use of stage directions is to be found in the scene of Ernesto's madness at the end of the opera.

[lowering his eyes]. Other *didascalie* refer more specifically to the manner of delivery of the text: *confuso* [confused], expressed by the alteration of the prosody through the insertion of rests and semiquavers that disrupt the flow of the recitative (bb. 62-63, p. 226), *concitato* [agitated] and *con affettazione* [with affectation].

The stage directions given in this scene are exceptionally numerous compared with other contemporary scores and libretti. Most of them refer to Ernesto's performance and seem to emphasise the very fact that he *is acting*, that is to say, not telling the truth, as is clearly indicated on one occasion (*con affettazione*). Ernesto succeeds in his plan completely, and the success of his deception is visually emphasised, once more, by gestures: Lodovico *lo fa levare e lo abbraccia con tenerezza* [He lifts him and embraces him with tenderness].

The preceding study has drawn some attention to the existence of dramaturgical similarities between two works which are, on the surface of things, very far removed from one another. Earlier scholars have stressed the importance of the influence of *commedia dell'arte* on opera, but their assessment was based largely on elements that were later eliminated by the reform or exploited within the context of intermezzi and comic opera. My investigations have begun to show, however, that *commedia* had worked on *dramma per musica* at a much deeper level by passing on to it that 'theatricality' that allowed *dramma per musica* to survive the reform.

Zeno and Pariati showed both great sensibility in their combination of ethos and pathos, poetry and stage sets, and knowledge of the ways in which music was able to interact with the stage surroundings. In particular, the poets managed to transfer the ideas of deceit and ambiguity, so embedded in the subject itself, to constituents of the drama other than poetry. Still, the scenes in which Ernesto's and Ottone's deceptions are enacted and those in which ambiguity pushes Lodovico and Engelberta apart rely heavily on speech. The long recitatives cannot be cut to draw the arias closer together

without impairing one's understanding of the action. In these scenes the *dramma per musica* resembles a spoken drama and gains enormously from appropriate acting and vocal inflections. Music, however, reinforces the emphatic use of the art of gesture and helps to reveal the insincerity of Ernesto's behaviour.

Chapter 4

Italian Tragedy and *Dramma per Musica*

Attempts at a Theatre Reform in Italy

In the years when *dramma per musica* was undergoing important changes, spoken drama, and in particular tragedy, was an area of controversy which was calling out for a reform of the whole of Italian theatre. The *Seicento* had certainly not been immune from debates concerning language and verisimilitude in literary drama, but it was at the beginning of the eighteenth century that these polemics acquired new strength. Leading figures of Italian culture and members of the Accademia dell'Arcadia, Giovan Mario Crescimbeni, Ludovico Antonio Muratori, Gian Vincenzo Gravina, Pier Jacopo Martello and Scipione Maffei, dedicated ample space in their writings to discussing the place of stage plays in society, as well as their structures and poetics.[1]

One controversial matter concerned the discussions over whether tragedies had to be written in verse or in prose and, if in verse, whether rhymed or unrhymed.[2] Unrhymed verse was much preferred by the Arcadians and considered an inseparable property of dramatic composition, as Greek and Latin tragedies and comedies were based on metre. In addition, they argued that verse increased the innate gravity and

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[1] Giovan Mario Crescimbeni, *Istoria della volgar poesia* (Rome, 1698); Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Della perfetta poesia italiana* (Modena, 1706); Gian Vincenzo Gravina, *Discorso sopra l'Endimione* (Rome, 1692); *Della Ragione poetica libri due* (Rome, 1708), both in *Gian Vincenzo Gravina: scritti critici e teorici*, ed. by A. Quondam (Bari: Laterza, 1973); Pier Jacopo Martello, *Della tragedia antica e moderna* (Rome, 1715), in *P.J. Martello: Scritti critici e satirici*, ed. by Hannibal S. Noce (Bari: Laterza, 1963); Scipione Maffei, *Teatro italiano o sia scelta di tragedie per uso della scena* (Verona, 1723-5), in *Scipione Maffei: De' teatri antichi e moderni e altri scritti teatrali*, ed. by L. Sannia Nowè, (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 1988).

[2] See Gravina, *Discorso sopra l'Endimione*; *Della Ragion Poetica*; *Della tragedia* (Naples, 1715), in Quondam, *Gian Vincenzo Gravina: scritti critici e teorici*; Muratori, *Della perfetta poesia italiana*; Martello, *Della tragedia antica e moderna*; Maffei, *Premessa* to *Teatro italiano*.

decorum of tragedy. The *endecasillabi sciolti*, employed in tragedy for the first time by Giangiorgio Trissino in 1515 for his *Sofonisba*, were seen as the closest Italian analogy to both classical metre and natural speech and, therefore, the only one to be used. But there were also practical reasons for the use of verse: Gravina, recalling Castelvetro, stated that verse makes the recitation more audible in the theatre, whereas prose by its very nature, employs falling cadences and is thus difficult to follow when presented in a large theatre.[3] Statements of this kind are of great importance, as they show the new interest in performing tragedies that, with the exclusion of those by Giraldi Cinzio, had been written in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century almost exclusively for reading purposes and had been relegated to the realm of reading-literature for almost a century. It is possible, however, that some of these tragedies circulated in the reduced format of a *scenario* and were subjected to the improvisations of the *comici dell'arte*.[4]

It was mainly the *comici*'s practice of improvisation that was believed to be responsible for the degeneration of verse into prose (while the success of opera was held responsible for the near disappearance of tragedy from the stage).[5] At the beginning of the eighteenth century, virtually the whole of the theatrical repertoire (except opera) was in prose,[6] including most of the numerous Italian translations of French tragedies that started to appear in print and were performed by students in schools and colleges in Rome and Bologna from the last decades of the seventeenth

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[3] Quondam, id., p. 40.

[4] An incomplete Spanish translation of Giraldi Cinzio's *Orbecche* is found in the oldest *zibaldone*. This Spanish collection of the late sixteenth century belonged to a member of the company of Italian actor Alberto Naselli (Ganassa), who performed in Madrid during the 1580s. See Chapter 3, '*Commedia dell'Arte* and *Dramma per Musica*: A Comparative Study of a *Scenario* and a *Dramma per Musica*'.

[5] Maffei, Introduction to *Teatro italiano*, p. 24.

[6] In his preface to the 1714 edition of Giulio Agosti's verse tragedy *Artaserse* (1700), performed in Venice in the same year, Luigi Riccoboni recalls the disfavour into which verse had fallen: 'Il verso, tanto nella tragedia, come nella Comedia, era creduto mortale, e gli uditori qual'ora sentivan parlare di verso fremevano, e quantunque amantissimi del Teatro lo abbandonavano per quella recita se mai a Comici fosse caduto in mente di rappresentarne qualch'una di simil sorte.'. (Quoted here from Xavier de Courville, *Un apôtre de l'art du théâtre au XVIIIe siècle. Luigi Riccoboni dit Lélio* (Paris: Droz, 1943), I (1676-1715): *L'expérience italienne*, p. 113.

century onwards.[7] What was missing was indeed a 'performable' Italian tragedy that could stand against the French and could restore theatre to its high didactic and moral function.[8]

Marquis Scipione Maffei, perhaps the most representative figure of this intellectual movement, acted as a mediator between the academies and the stage, between literature and performance practice; between 1710 and 1732 - a period opening with his first collaborations with the great actor Luigi Riccoboni, *detto* Lelio[9] (the future father-in-law of the composer Giovanni Bononcini) and closing with the inauguration of the Teatro Filarmonico of Verona - he was directly involved in the renewal of Italian theatre.[10] Maffei's efforts coincided with the process of recovering sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tragic texts, initiated by private theatres and colleges during the 1680s, and the activities of professional actors such as Luigi Riccoboni and the Roman Pietro Cotta (Celio);[11] in 1696 the latter revived one of the best Baroque dramas, Carlo de' Dottori's *Aristodemo*, on the 'difficult' Venetian stage. In addition to translations of French tragedies, the company of Luigi Riccoboni and his wife Elena Balletti successfully revived Trissino's *Sofonisba* (Vicenza, 1710)[12] and, on the

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[7] See Luigi Ferrari's bibliographical account, *Le traduzioni del teatro tragico francese dei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Paris: Champion, 1925).

[8] I shall not enter into a discussion about the charges that the Church, in its Counter-Reformation battle, made against the theatre during the previous century; for more information on this topic see Ferdinando Taviani, *La commedia dell'arte e la società barocca: La fascinazione del teatro* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1969) (Biblioteca teatrale. Studi, vol. 4).

[9] The best biography of Luigi Riccoboni remains Xavier de Courville, *Un apôtre de l'art du théâtre au XVIIIe siècle. Luigi Riccoboni dit Lélio*, 3 vols (Paris: Droz, 1943).

[10] Cfr. Sannia Nowè, *Il Marchese Scipione Maffei: un mediatore tra letteratura e spettacolo*, in *Scipione Maffei: De' teatri antichi e moderni e altri scritti teatrali*, pp. XI-LXXVIII; and Gianfranco Folena, '"Prima le parole e poi la musica": Scipione Maffei poeta per musica e *La fida ninfa*', in *L'italiano in Europa: Esperienze linguistiche del Settecento* (Turin: Einaudi, 1983), pp. 235-61.

[11] Cfr. Gian Paolo Brizzi, *Caratteri ed evoluzione del teatro di Collegio italiano (sec. XVII-XVIII)*, in *Cattolicesimo e lumi nel Settecento italiano*, ed. by M. Rosa (Rome: Herder, 1981), pp. 177-204; Simonetta Ingegno Guidi, 'Per la storia del teatro francese in Italia: L.A.Muratori, G.G.Orsi e P.J.Martello', *La Rassegna della letteratura italiana* 78, VII/1-2 (1974), pp. 64-94.

[12] Giangiorgio Trissino, *Sofonisba* (Vicenza, 1524). Riccoboni published a new edition of *Sofonisba* in 1710.

initiative of Maffei, Muzio Manfredi's *Semiramide*,[13] Orsatto Giustinian's *Edipo* (Vicenza, 1710),[14] Tasso's *Torrismondo*,[15] the two unpublished tragedies *Oreste*, by Giovanni Rucellai (1712), and *Cleopatra*, by Cardinal Delfino,[16] as well as modern tragedies such as Jacopo Martello's *Ifigenia in Tauride* in 1711 (first at the *arena* in Verona and then at the Teatro San Luca in Venice),[17] *Rachele* in 1712 (in Venice and Modena), and, in 1714, Giulio Agosti's *Artaserse* (of 1700).[18]

Most of these seventeenth-century Italian tragedies in verse were later to be gathered and published by Maffei himself in the *Teatro italiano o sia scelta di tragedie per uso della scena* (Verona, 1723-5). The idea of such a collection, however, was conceived during the experiments of the 1710s.[19] *Teatro italiano* appeared complete with an important introductory *Discorso intorno al Teatro italiano* and with suggestions for act and scene divisions and for the treatment of choruses, thereby encouraging the staging of this repertoire in Modena, Bologna, Verona and, of course, Venice, where Riccoboni's company performed regularly at the Teatro San Luca and at the Teatro San Samuele between 1708 and 1715.[20]

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[13] Muzio Manfredi, *Semiramide* (Bergamo, 1593).

[14] Orsatto Giustinian's *Edipo*, an adaptation of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, created for the inauguration of the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza in 1585, was used by the librettist Domenico Lalli for his *Edippo, tragedia per musica*, performed in Munich in 1729 with music by Torri and subsequently adapted for Venice in 1732 as *Edipo di Sofocle*, a tragedy in verse.

[15] Torquato Tasso, *Torrismondo* (Genoa, 1587).

[16] Giovanni Delfino's *Cleopatra* was written during the second half of the seventeenth century.

[17] Martello had published his French-inspired tragedies in 1709 (*Teatro di Pier Jacopo Martelli*, Rome, 1709). A second edition containing additional new tragedies appeared in two volumes in 1715. On the occasion of the performance of *Ifigenia* in 1711 Luigi Riccoboni published an edition of the tragedy and dedicated it to Apostolo Zeno.

[18] In 1710, after the success of *Sofonisba*, the Riccobonis were introduced to Scipione Maffei by the director of the Theatre of San Luca, Alvise Vendramin. Maffei himself provided Riccoboni with the texts of seventeenth-century tragedies that he deemed worthy of performance.

[19] See Maffei's letter of 23 August 1710 to Muratori: 'Avendo io gran voglia di scemare gli scherni che i Francesi si fanno per cagione del nostro teatro ho dato alla insigne compagnia di Lelio e Flaminia diverse tragedie antiche e moderne, che sono riuscite ottimamente. Ora mi è anche venuto in capo, di fare sotto il nome dello stesso comico una raccolta di Tragedie italiane a uso del Teatro ridotte alla moderna rappresentazione [...]' (Quoted after Courville, *Un apôtre de l'art du théâtre*, p. 165).

[20] In 1703 the powerful Grimani family, who owned the SS.Giovanni e Paolo, the San Samuele and the San Giovanni Grisostomo, managed to negotiate a contract with the Vendramin family, the owners of

Maffei's initiatives were geared towards not only the recovery of the Italian classical repertory, but also the creation of a modern tragedy that was entirely Italian. To this end he encouraged Italian literati to devote themselves to tragedy in order to put an end to the French hegemony. Gravina's reply was immediate and in 1712 his *Tragedie cinque* appeared in print, while Martello had already contributed with his first tragedies of 1709. Finally, in 1713 Maffei himself produced, if not a masterpiece, at least one of the most successful theatrical works of his time: *Merope*. Created for Elena Balletti, *Merope* was first staged by Riccoboni's troupe in Modena (12 June 1713); soon after it was given in Verona and finally in Venice at the San Luca during the Carnival season of 1714. Its success, in Venice as well as wherever it was subsequently taken, was said to have been tremendous, so much so that the opera houses remained empty - at least for a few nights![21]

The reason for this extraordinary success lay, as Kurt Ringger points out, in the pathetic effect produced by the emphasis on the passion of 'furore' that twice pushes the queen to the brink of killing Egisto, who is her own son, though she does not know it.[22] This much-criticised double murder attempt[23] was used simultaneously to take the audience's breath away and to demonstrate that passions ought to be kept under control. With this combination of effects Maffei managed to satisfy both the literati and the public.[24]

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the San Luca, to regularly exchange comic companies between the San Samuele and the San Luca, the major Venetian theatre for spoken drama (Nicola Mangini, *I teatri di Venezia*, Milan, Mursia, 1974).

[21] Maffei himself records: 'Una mia tragedia recitata il passato Carnevale in Venezia ha incontrato tanta fortuna che non s'è veduta mai più tal cosa. I teatri di musica sono rimasti abbandonati...' and a certain 'Count Frigimelica', possibly the librettist, 'per dolore e dispetto ha fatto pazzie singolari in pubblico' (Letter to Conti, dated 15 May 1714. Quoted after Xavier de Courville, *Un apôtre de l'art du théâtre*, p. 205).

[22] Kurt Ringger, '*La Merope* e il *furor d'affetto*: la tragedia di Scipione Maffei rivisitata', *Modern Language Notes* 92/1 (1977), pp. 38-62. Cfr. Sannia Nowè, *Scipione Maffei*, p. XXX.

[23] Voltaire, Lessing and Alfieri all disapproved of it. Cfr. Sannia Nowè, *Scipione Maffei*, p. XXX.

[24] Ibid., p. XXXI.

Maffei had taken the subject from Hyginus' *Fabulae* and developed his own version in which the love element was completely excluded.[25] Muratori had already expressed his ideals concerning tragic *inventio* based on passions other than love in his *Della perfetta poesia italiana* of 1706, and Gravina had identified the predominance of this passion over the others as the reason for the decay of tragedy. The polemics around the role of the love element in tragedy constituted, in fact, the main argument against seventeenth-century French tragedy.[26] In his 1745 *Proemio alla Merope*, Maffei wrote:

> Di tanti moderni che hanno rifatto a loro modo l'*Edipo* di Sofocle, noi veggiamo come chi ci ha voluto metter dentro amori ha infievolito del tutto quel bel soggetto, ed ha fatto diventare quel capo d'opera un cattivo drama.[27]

He directed similar criticism towards the Italian *Artaserse* (1700) by Giulio Agosti, a tragedy full of *amoreggiamenti* which hindered tragic effect.

The practitioners of the theatre, in music or otherwise, could not have been unaware of these discussions and, at least in the north of Italy, of Maffei's and Riccoboni's efforts. The anonymous librettist of *Edipo*, a *dramma tragico per musica* modelled on Voltaire's *OEdipe*, seems to have been perfectly aware of the controversy centred on love, and expressed his views in the *Argomento*:

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[25] The subject had been treated before by Antonio Cavallerino, *Telefonte* (1582); G.B. Liviera, *Cresfonte* (1588); Pomponio Torelli, *Merope* (1589); Apostolo Zeno, *Merope* (1712). Zeno's *dramma per musica* still makes considerable use of the love element.

[26] Muratori, *Della perfetta poesia italiana* (1706); Gravina, *Della tragedia*; Martello, *Della tragedia antica e moderna* (1715); Riccoboni, *Dissertation sur la tragédie moderne* in *Histoire du théâtre italien* (1728); Pietro Calepio, *Paragone della poesia tragica d'Italia e di Francia*; Maffei, *Proemio alla Merope* (1745); *De' teatri antichi e moderni* (1753). Cfr. Enrico Mattioda, *Teorie della tragedia nel Settecento* (Modena: Mucchi Editore, 1994), pp. 57-74.

[27] 'Of the many modern authors who imitated Sophocles's *Oedipus*, we see that all those who wanted to insert love affairs have weakened that beautiful subject and transformed that masterpiece into a bad drama'. Maffei, *Proemio alla Merope* (1745), in Sannia Nowè, *Scipione Maffei*, p. 84. Here, Maffei was referring to Pierre Corneille and Voltaire among others.

> Le scene amorose episodiche fra Giocasta, e Filottete si son trascorse leggermente appena toccandole, poichè come ci insegna il medesimo signor de Voltaire, *l'Amore nella Tragedia, o deve essere l'anima, e il fondamento dell'opera, o deve esserne interamente bandito. Se l'amore non è tragico, è insipido, e s'egli è tragico, deve esser solo, poichè ei non è fatto per avere il secondo posto.*[28]

Another *Edippo, tragedia per musica*, modelled on Orsatto Giustinian's transposition of Sophocles's tragedy (revived by Riccoboni in the 1710s and included in Maffei's 1723 collection), was written in 1729 by Domenico Lalli, one of the most prolific and well-established librettists in Venice.[29] Later on the libretto was transformed into a prose tragedy as *Edipo di Sofocle* and dedicated to the composer of many *tragedie per musica*, Giuseppe Maria Orlandini.[30]

One of Orlandini's *tragedie* was *Ifigenia in Tauride*, performed at the San Giovanni Grisostomo in 1719 on a libretto by Benedetto Pasqualigo. The connection of this *Ifigenia* with the other versions that had recently appeared on stage and, therefore, with the cultural environment that produced them, was made clear by the librettist himself in the *Avviso agli uditori*:

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[28] 'The episodic love scenes between Giocasta and Filottete have been only slightly touched upon because, as Voltaire himself teaches us, *Love in tragedy is either the soul and foundation of the work, or ought to be completely omitted. If love is not tragic, it is insipid, and if it is tragic, it ought to be alone, as it is not of a nature to take second place* [in the drama]'.
According to Claudio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800*, 6 vols (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1993), the only known copy of this libretto is held at I-Vcg (58 A 84/8). The libretto bears no date or place of publication and performance; however, it was probably published after 1744. In fact the quotation in the *Argomento* appears to have been taken from Voltaire's *Lettre a Monsieur le Marquis Scipion Maffei*, published with Voltaire's own *Mérope* in 1744. I would like to thank Brian Trowell for having brought Voltaire's *Lettre* to my attention.
[29] *Edippo. Tragedia per musica* (Munich, 1729), set to music by Pietro Torri.
[30] *Edipo di Sofocle*/Prima fatto in Dramma/da Domenico Lalli/et ora dal medesimo ridotto a forma di più vera tragedia/al signore/Giuseppe Maria Orlandini/Accademico Filarmonico, e Maestro di Cappella di S.A.R. Il gran Duca di Toscana/Venezia 1733.

[...] Fu trattato l'Argomento in Aulide ad imitazione del Grande Originale, nei tempi moderni dal sig.Racine, e da altri autori, a gara, Italiani, e Francesi; e fra primi singolarmente M. Ludovico Dolce; e lo accomodò con leggiadria, negli ultimi mesi, ad uso di Musica [...] Sign.Apostolo Zeno.

L'argomento in Tauride fu ridotto con novità di ritmo[31] nel di lui teatro, dal Sig.Pier Jacopo Martelli,[32] et io per la prima volta, ho osato di maneggiarlo in poche giornate degli Ozj autunnali, in gratia del canto, su le Venete scene, con invenzione di doppia peripezia, e riconoscimento per discorso, e per segni, e con qualche disperata difficoltà avvenutami nel framischiare la Dignità della Mitologia, la puntualità della Poetica, l'Eccellenza dell'Esemplare, con la delicatezza dell'armonia, con le ripugnanze del teatro, dell'uso, e del Carnovale senza una mostruosa deformità.[33]

Among the librettists, Pietro Pariati was certainly personally acquainted with Riccoboni. The actor published and performed Pariati's prose drama *Coriolano* in 1707, and staged a prose version of the *dramma per musica Sesostri* (1710), modelled on La Grange-Chancel's *Amasis* (similar to the subject of *Merope*), at the Theatre San Samuele between 1713 and 1714.[34] Riccoboni's opening note to Pariati, which accompanied the 1715 print of the actor's own version in verse of the original libretto,

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[31] Pasqualigo is referring to the new verse, the *settenario doppio*, employed by Martello in his *Ifigenia*.

[32] Martello's *Ifigenia in Tauride* was published in *Teatro di Pier Jacopo Martelli*.

[33] 'The subject of Iphigenia in Aulide was treated, in modern times, by Racine, who imitated the great original, and by many other Italian and French authors: Lodovico Dolce was among the first, and a few months ago Apostolo Zeno adapted it delightfully for musical use.

The subject of Iphigenia in Tauride was reduced with a new verse by Pier Jacopo Martello in his *Teatro* and I, for the first time, have dared to treat it during a few idle autumn days, to be sung on the Venetian stage, with the insertion of a double catastrophe and recognition through speech and signs, and with no small difficulty have I mixed the dignity of Mythology, the rules of poetics, the excellence of the original, the delicacy of the harmony, with the incongruities of theatre, the conventions and the Carnival, and have managed to avoid a monstrous deformity'. Pasqualigo claims to have been the first to adapt Martello's tragedy for the musical theatre. Carlo Sigismondo Capece, however, preceded him with *Ifigenia in Tauri* (Rome, 1713).

[34] From the prose play *Coriolano* originally composed for Lelio and Flaminia, Pariati drew a libretto for Vienna in 1717. In 1723 the libretto was adapted by Haym for the Royal Academy of Music and set to music by Ariosti. There is another tragedy of Lelio's repertory that went through Pariati's adaptation and was revised by Haym for Ariosti in 1724: *Artaserse* (a *dramma per musica* of 1705 modelled by Pariati on Giulio Agosti's prose tragedy of 1700). On Riccoboni's involvement with Bononcini's *Astianatte* (London, Royal Academy of Music, 1727) see Hans Dieter Clausen, 'Händels *Admeto* und Bononcinis *Astianatte*: Antike Tragödie an der Royal Academy of Music', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 6 (1996), pp. 143-70. On the various versions of Pariati's libretto *Sesostri*, see Chapter 5, 'French Tragedy in the Italian Manner: Spoken Translations and Musical Adaptations'.

suggests a friendship dating back to the beginning of Lelio's career and before Pariati's arrival in Venice:

> Con il merito di ventiquattro anni di cordialissima servitù che vi ho sempre prestata lasciatemi sperare, vi prego, o Sig. mio, che non mi contenderete il piacere di amarvi e servirvi sempre sino, che viva.[35]

Riccoboni was prepared to respect the work of librettists who, after all, were the only professional writers for the theatre during the seventeenth century. For his first prose play of 1705, *Griselda*, he drew directly on Zeno's *dramma per musica* by the same title set to music for Venice by Antonio Pollarolo in 1701.[36] In the same way, his other drama on the myth of Hercules (*Hercule*) shows evident similarities with Frigimelica Roberti's *Tragedia per musica Ercole in cielo*, set to music by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo (Antonio's father) for the San Giovanni Grisostomo in 1696, while *Tito Manlio*, a tragedy that was published in Bologna in 1707 and is attributed to Riccoboni (who signed the dedication), closely follows Matteo Noris's *Tito Manlio*, performed at the San Giovanni Grisostomo in 1697, again with music by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo.[37]

The author of *Ercole in cielo*, Count Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti, had been experimenting with the genres (excluding comedy) that were traditionally confined to the spoken theatre, as well as the Aristotelian models of tragic representation, since the 1690s.[38] He devoted his entire operatic output - eleven libretti between 1694 and 1708 - to the assimilation of the classical principles of tragedy into *dramma per musica* in

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[35] 'In recognition of the twenty-four years of very cordial assistance which I have always placed at your disposal, allow me to hope that you will not deny me the pleasure of loving and serving you for the rest of my life'. *Il Sesostri, tragedia* (Venice, 1715). Letter to Pariati.
[36] According to Courville, *Un apôtre de l'art du théâtre*, p. 46-8. Cfr. Zeno, *Griselda*, II,vii.
[37] Ibid., p. 116. The tragedy is attributed to Riccoboni by Leone Allacci, *Drammaturgia di Lione Allacci accresciuta e continuata fino all'anno MDCCLV* (Venice: Pasquali, 1755).
[38] On the poet see Karl Leich, *Girolamo Frigimelica Robertis Libretti (1694-1708): Ein Beitrag insbesondere zur Geschichte des Opernlibrettos in Venedig* (Munich: Katzbichler, 1972).

order to improve the theatrical taste of modern audiences. All his libretti appeared in print, equipped with long prefaces (the preface to *Alessandro in Susa* was 64 pages long and was published separately) in which he expressed his ideas on poetics and the purpose of his *drammi*, now called *tragedie per musica*, *tragedie satiriche*, *tragicomedie* and the like.[39] Frigimelica Roberti's *tragedie* were all written for the San Giovanni Grisostomo and most probably commissioned by Giovanni Carlo Grimani, who, together with his brother Vincenzo, owned and managed the famous Venetian theatre. Giovanni Carlo was part of that cultural environment which advocated literary and theatrical reform; together with Apostolo Zeno and Domenico David, he was instrumental in the founding of the Accademia degli Animosi (which met in his own Palazzo Grimani at S. Maria Formosa) around 1691 and in its subsequent merger with Arcadia in 1698.[40]

The above evidence strongly suggests that the emergence of *tragedie per musica* in the repertoire of the theatres of Venice, first at the San Giovanni Grisostomo and then at the other theatres, and the increased production of *drammi per musica* modelled on French tragedies in Venice, Rome and Florence, was neither simply a tribute to the trend of the time nor the dry exercise of a group of intellectuals.[41] This use of the dramatic

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[39] *Ottone* (1694), *Irene* (1695), *Rosimonda* (1696), *Ercole in Cielo* (1696), *Il Mitridate Eupatore* (1707) and *Il trionfo della libertà* (1707) were *Tragedie per musica*; *Il Pastore d'Anfrisio* (1695) was designated a *Tragedia pastorale*; *Il Ciclope* (Padua 1695) and *Il Dafni* (1705) were *Tragedie satiriche*; *La Fortuna per dote* (1704) and *Alessandro in Susa* (1708) were classified *Tragicomedie* and *Il Selvaggio eroe* (1707) a *Tragicomedia eroico-pastorale*. Frigimelica Roberti appears to have written a complete treatise on poetics during his years in Padua as a member of the Accademia dei Ricovrati. The treatise survives in a contemporary manuscript copy at the British Library (Add. 10,733). I would like to thank Philip Weller for having drawn attention to the existence of this treatise.

[40] According to Harris Saunders, *The Repertoire of a Venetian Opera House (1678-1714): the Teatro Grimani di San Giovanni Grisostomo* (Ph.D. Diss, Harvard University, 1985), almost all the librettists who wrote for the San Giovanni Grisostomo after 1692 belonged to the Accademia degli Animosi: G.M. Giannini, D. David, A. Zeno, M. Noris, S. Ghisi, P.G. Barziza, F. Briani, F. Silvani and A. Piovene. See, in particular, Chapter II, 'Indications of the Brothers' Tastes in Music Drama', pp. 28-54.

[41] Antonio Marchi was probably referring to Frigimelica Roberti in the *Avviso* for *Zenone imperator d'Oriente* (1696): 'Io non compongo perché li miei libretti vadano a riposar nelle biblioteche per erudimento a letterati'.

repertoire is illuminating not merely as a source of inspiration for plots, but also as an essential focal point for the study both of opera as a genre and its reform. In particular, the study of the theatrical sources utilised by many contemporary librettists for their *drammi* and *tragedie per musica* shows authors taking an active part in the general movement of the recovery of tragedy as advocated by intellectuals, and, moreover, expressing their specific views on the disputed issues with particular reference to *dramma per musica*. Zeno's and Pariati's decision to use Giulio Agosti's pathetic verse tragedy to produce their own *Artaserse* in 1705 is a sign both of their interest in the possibility of a renewal of Italian theatre (and of *dramma per musica* along with it) through the model of tragedy, and of their pragmatic awareness that an element of erotic love had to be included for a *dramma per musica* to succeed with the public.[42] On the other hand, Piovene's experiment of using an early seventeenth-century Italian tragedy in which the love element was completely absent as a basis for his 1715 *tragedia per musica Polidoro* might tell us of his support for Maffei's ideals.

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[42] For a discussion of the revisions made to the original tragedy, probably by Pariati alone, see Giovanna Gronda, *La carriera di un librettista. Pietro Pariati da Reggio di Lombardia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990), pp. 131. According to Courville the 'mélodrame de Zeno et du même Pariati, joué à Venise en 1705, l'a sans doute mis sur la voie de la tragédie qui en était la source'. (*Un apôtre de l'art du théâtre*, p. 236).

Italian Tragedy: a Suitable Model for *Dramma per Musica*? The Case of *Polidoro*

According to extant sources, Count Agostino Piovene's *tragedia da rappresentarsi in musica Polidoro* was produced only once, during the Carnival season of 1715.[43] It seems possible that, despite Antonio Lotti's setting,[44] the opera was not very successful: with the exception of the later setting by German composer K.H.Graun for productions in Braunschweig (1731) and Hamburg (1735), *Polidoro* was never revived, either in Venice or anywhere else. The work appeared at an unusual venue for the time: it was performed at the Teatro SS Giovanni e Paolo and not, as we would perhaps expect for a *tragedia per musica*, at the San Giovanni Grisostomo.[45] The cast was remarkable for the presence not only of first-class singers such as Francesco Bernardi *detto* Senesino, Anna Maria Scarabelli, Anna Ambrevil and Giuseppe Boschi, but also of Giovan Battista Cavana, a very popular singer who specialised in comic roles. This was Cavana's first documented engagement on the Venetian stage after his departure six years earlier (in 1709) and moreover one of his very rare appearances in a serious role. The printed libretto bears no dedication and the source of the text was also unusual: an Italian tragedy by Pomponio Torelli.

Count Pomponio Torelli wrote his tragedy in verse, *Polidoro*, in 1605. Better known for his *Merope* (1589), he was, together with Tasso, one of the major exponents of Counter-Reformation tragedy. Common to all his tragedies is the opposition between the 'Machiavellian' qualities of the tyrant and the virtuous and religious quality of

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[43] The publication date of 1714 is probably *more veneto* and should therefore be read as 1715. If *Polidoro* had actually been performed in 1714, we would need an explanation as to how the bass Giovan Battista Cavana could sing, during the same season, the roles of Polinestore in *Polidoro* and Marsia in *Marsia deluso*, both at the Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo and take part in the Intermezzi for Mancini's *Gran Mogol* and Scarlatti's *Scipione nelle Spagne* in Naples.

[44] Antonio Lotti's score is held at I-Nc (28.4.37).

[45] The theatre belonged to the Grimani family. It was closed in 1698 and re-opened, only temporarily, in 1714 (Mangini, *I teatri di Venezia*).

prudenza that aimed at the attainment of justice and peace.[46] In this framework, the final catastrophe is always perceived as a divine intervention through which the tyrant, and all he embodies, is eventually punished.

Torelli's *Polidoro* was a typical classicist tragedy in the style of Trissino's *Sofonisba*; it was written in *endecasillabi sciolti*, with choruses and no divisions into acts and scenes.[47] *Polidoro* was neither one of the tragedies revived by Pietro Cotta and Luigi Riccoboni, nor among those printed by Scipione Maffei in his *Teatro italiano*. Torelli's most popular tragedy *Merope*, on the other hand, was included in Maffei's collection. By not choosing Torelli's *Merope* as his model, Piovene probably wished both to avoid competition with Maffei's own very successful *Merope*, which had been staged in the previous year by Riccoboni's troupe at the Teatro San Luca, and to contribute to Maffei's and Riccoboni's courageous undertaking to revitalise Italian classical tragedy.

Polidoro was certainly not the first *tragedia per musica* to appear on the Venetian stage; the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo had consistently produced such works during the past twenty years, and *Polidoro* would certainly have been performed there, had the theatre not been temporarily closed. In his study of the San Giovanni Grisostomo, Saunders underlines the fact that, starting from around 1692, the repertoire of the most important Venetian theatre demonstrated Grimani's efforts towards a reform of the *dramma per musica* through the imitation of specific aspects of classical drama. This process seems to have been accompanied by the predominance in the repertoire of works by noble Venetian librettists - like Piovene - who 'more readily depended on

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[46] Nino Borsellino, *Il teatro del Cinquecento* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1979) (Letteratura Italiana Laterza, vol. 21), briefly discusses the figure of the tyrant and the expression, through his statements and aphorisms, of Machiavelli's theory of the *utile* as the foundation of the *ragion di Stato* (*Il Principe*).
[47] On Torelli's tragedies, *Merope* (1589), *Tancredi* (1597), *Galatea* (1602), *Polidoro* (1605) and *Vittoria* (1605), see Borsellino, *Il teatro del Cinquecento*.

precepts that they had learned in their literary studies in constructing their *drammi per musica*'.[48]

Sometimes the best way to reproduce the structure of classical drama was to imitate particular examples of the genre. French classical tragedies - dramas of proven success on stage - were ideal models. Many *drammi per musica* written for the San Giovanni Grisostomo and other Venetian theatres were based on French tragedies, and Piovene himself had experimented with them in 1711, when he had chosen Jean-Nicholas Pradon's *Tamerlan ou la Mort de Bajazet* as a model for his *Tamerlano*.[49]

Many librettists willingly revealed their models and were proud to be associated with their popular French colleagues, while others, especially those not writing for the San Giovanni Grisostomo, preferred to keep their direct sources concealed. Piovene had nothing against disclosing his direct source:

> La predetta, o storia, o favola ch'ella siesi, passata già per le più accreditate penne de' Greci, e de' Latini, io mi fo lecito di cambiarla in alcuna parte, giacché il signor Conte Torelli, non meno ingegnoso nel suo Polidoro, di quello che sia stato nella sua Merope, mi ha fatto coraggio a seguirlo, e per quanto mi è stato possibile ad imitarlo.[50]

The librettist followed Torelli's plot very closely. The *tragedia per musica* opens with the arrival of Pirro in Sestos. Pirro, in the capacity of Greek Ambassador, meets the King of Tracia, Polinestore, to demand that the Trojan Polidoro, son of the dead Priamo and brother of Iliona (Polinestore's wife), is put to death. Pirro's real aim, though, is to obtain Andromaca, Ettore's widow, with whom Pirro is in love. Unfortunately, Andromaca is in love with Deifilo (son of Iliona and Polinestore), believed to be

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[48] Saunders, *The Repertoire of a Venetian Opera House (1678-1714)*, p. 68.
[49] The Teatro San Cassiano was the other theatre which, like the San Giovanni Grisostomo, produced many *drammi* of French origins.
[50] 'This story, whether drawn from history or from mythology, has been already treated by important Greek and Latin authors; I have altered it, as Count Torelli, no less ingenious in his *Polidoro* than in his *Merope*, encouraged me to follow and imitate him in whatever way that I could'. Agostino Piovene, *Polidoro* (Venice, 1715), Note to the reader.

Polidoro. Polinestore, keen both to appropriate Polidoro's hidden treasure and to please the Greeks (to opportunist ends), is willing to accept Pirro's requests, but is unaware of the true identities of the two princes. Polidoro, sent to Polinestore by Priamo before the fall of Troy, had been exchanged with Deifilo by Iliona many years earlier. The two children, unaware of the exchange, are very fond of each other, as is demonstrated in their attempt to save each other's lives by exchanging clothes, thereby enhancing the confusion of their identities. Deifilo (believed to be Polidoro), is eventually killed on Polinestores's command and Polinestore is told the horrible truth before being ferociously blinded on Polidoro's order. Andromaca and Polidoro marry, and Pirro returns to Greece empty-handed.

What were the major difficulties Piovene may have encountered in transposing an early seventeenth-century tragedy into a *tragedia per musica* of the early eighteenth century? Although we do not possess - as Piovene probably did not - a set of rules for the writing and the evaluation of a *dramma per musica*, the genre from which Piovene was trying to depart, it is possible to identify some common features or conventions by comparing *Polidoro* with other contemporary *drammi*. The following analysis will evaluate whether Italian classical tragedy might have served as a model for the developing genre of *dramma per musica*, and will go on to discuss Antonio Lotti's musical response to the librettist's efforts towards the creation of a *tragedia per musica*.

The characters of the two tragedies are essentially the same and are shown in the Table below:

Table 4.1 *Polidoro*. Characters

Torelli	**Piovene**
Polinestore re di Tracia	Polinestore vecchio re di Tracia (Giovanni Battista Cavana)
Iliona	Iliona figliuola di Priamo, moglie di Polinestore (Diamante Maria Scarabelli)
Polidoro stimato Deifilo	Polidoro fratello d'Iliona, creduto Deifilo figliuolo di Polinestore (Francesco Bernardi Senesino)
Deifilo stimato Polidoro	Deifilo figliuolo di Polinestore, creduto Polidoro fratello d'Iliona, amante di Andromaca (Pietro Casati)
	Andromaca vedova di Ettore, schiava di Pirro, ricoverata in Tracia, amante di Deifilo, creduto Polidoro (Anna Ambrevil)
Segretario d'Ulisse o ambasciatore	Pirro figliuolo d'Achille, ambasciatore dei Greci a Polinestore, amante di Andromaca (Agata Landi)
Darete frigio	Darete troiano, Ajo dei due principi Polidoro e Deifilo (Giuseppe Boschi)
Capitano della Guardia	Capitano delle Guardie
Sacerdote	
Coro del popolo di Sesto	
Coro di Troiani rifuggiti in Tracia	

The most relevant changes made by Piovene concerning the *dramatis personae* are the addition of the character of Andromaca and the substitution of Pirro for Ulisse's envoy, thereby grafting the story of Pirro's quest for Andromaca - the subject of Racine's *Andromaque* - on to Torelli's tragedy. Piovene's Pirro, more similar to Racine's Oreste than to Pyrrhus, is driven by love and, like Oreste, is undoubtedly more interested in obtaining his beloved than in bringing his mission to a successful conclusion. Andromaca is engaged to Deifilo (i.e. Polidoro) and, like the French Andromaque, despises Pirro. The analogies between Piovene and Racine end here, and the love element remains rather marginal and limited to these three characters. Although the amorous entanglement carries no real weight in the plot, it allows for the employment of a *seconda donna* with the consequent expansion of the role of Pirro. It creates a new balance among the characters, more variety and opportunities for the insertion of arias, and, finally, weakens the tragic element.

Piovene made considerable use of Torelli's actual text. He regularly introduced portions of the original poetry largely unaltered into his own text and drew inspiration for his aria texts from Torelli's work. Table 4.2 gives an outline of the considerable amount of Torellian text utilised, in some form or another, by Piovene.

Table 4.2: *Polidoro.* Scenes modelled on Torelli's tragedy

Piovene	**Torelli**
ACT I (i-viii)	
I,i-ii Pirro's arrival and embassy	pp. 11ff. (of the 1605 edition). Narrated by Deifilo
I,iii Iliona divided between the love for the son and the brother	pp. 6ff.
I,vii Deifilo and Polidoro's friendship	pp. 11-16
ACT II (i-vii)	
II,iv Iliona deceives Polidoro in order to save him	pp.17-20. Partly narrated
ACT III (i-viii)	
III,i-iv Pirro faces Deifilo in the Temple	pp. 41-50. Partly narrated by the Captain and Ulisse's Secretary
III,v Polinestore confirms his promise to Pirro. References to the temple scene	pp. 45, 49-50.
ACT IV (i-vi)	
IV,ii Polinestore's doubts about the true identity of the prince who had just been killed: is he Polidoro or Deifilo?	pp. 66-74
IV,iii Polidoro's despair about Deifilo's death	pp. 74ff.
IV,iv Iliona partly reveals to Polidoro his true identity	pp. 80-87
IV,v Polinestore and Polidoro. Iliona reveals to Polidoro his true identity.	pp. 90-95; 83-87
ACT V (i-iii)	
V,i-ii Polinestore's blinding	pp. 101-114. Partly narrated by the Priest

Piovene could not possibly have followed Torelli's layout without inserting divisions into acts and scenes; even Scipione Maffei, in his *Teatro italiano*, suggested such divisions as an aid to the staging of such tragedies. Like Frigimelica Roberti's *tragedie per musica*, French and modern Italian tragedies, *Polidoro* is in five acts, here divided into eight, seven, eight, five and three scenes respectively.[51] There are seven stage-sets and the scenes within each scenic unit are linked throughout with only two exceptions.[52] The imbalance of scenes and stage-set changes among the acts is a sign, I believe, of anything but a smooth process of transposition. In particular, Piovene's choice of stage-sets exemplifies this difficulty and provides not only an interesting viewpoint for the reading of the drama, but also suggestions about the role of the visual element in *dramma per musica.*

Certain references to specific places are found in Torelli's text, while other décors appear to employ conventional stock scenery. The temple scenes almost certainly originate from the Captain's narration in Torelli:

> *Capitano*
> Ma ei, quasi cervetta, che s'inselva
> Fuggendo'l morso de' veloci alani
> Si ritirò nel tempio, [...]
>
> [Torelli, *Polidoro*, p. 41]

These lines are also integrated into Piovene's text and directly addressed to Deifilo:

> *Pirro*
> Ora tremante tu ricorri al Tempio,
> Qual si rintana ne la buca, e fugge
> La man del cacciator timida belva.
>
> [Piovene, *Polidoro*, III,iii]

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[51] Act IV,i is omitted in the manuscript score, thereby reducing the number of scenes from six, as published in the libretto, to five.
[52] There are two stage-sets in the first and third Acts, and one set each in the second, fourth and fifth.

Even the *Parco reale in riva al mare* (Act IV,i) may have been suggested by the ambassador's words of farewell:

> già spiegat' hanno i bianchi lembi à i venti,
> l'alte navi vittrici, ch'avanzaro
> co'l favor di Minerva, e di Giunone,
>
> [Torelli, *Polidoro*, p. 67]

Piovene's choice of a temple, the *Tempio di Plutone Dio delle ricchezze*, as the setting for the dénouement is, once again, determined by Torelli:

> *Polinestore*
> [...]
> Ma dove sia costui? ove dimora
> Quest'oro? ove è lo speco, che l'asconde?
>
> *Polidoro*
> Nel tempio è la spelunca, che lo cela;
> [...]
>
> *Polinestore*
> Và tosto a ritrovarlo, và Darete,
> E teco di condurlo accortamente.
> Solo al tempio habbi cura; ch'io m'invio
> Con Deifilo solo à quella parte.
>
> [Torelli, *Polidoro*, p. 96]

Piovene followed Torelli very closely for the final scenes of his tragedy and accepted the suggestions which Torelli conveyed through the priest's narration as far as setting, speech and even movement on stage were concerned:

Sacerdote
[...]
Vidi con meraviglia uscir d'un antro,
Che nel suo grembo tiene il sacro foco,
Darete, e quel, che fu detto tuo figlio,
E un giovine Troiano, le cui destre
Splendean da lunge per facelle accese,
Che vibrando ciascun d'essi portava.
Venia lor il Re dietro, e tutti insieme
Con frettolosi passi nella bocca
Dell'oscura spelunca s'ingolfaro.
Ma tosto un nuovo strepito [...]

[Torelli, *Polidoro*, p. 105]

Coro di Prefiche, e coro di Trojani con faci, che assistono alla Pira di Deifilo, la quale si vede consumata nella parte inferiore del Tempio.

[...]
Polidoro
Signore, eccoci pronti;
Procederà i tuoi passi, e queste faci
A scoprirci son pronte il dubbio calle
[...]
Polinestore
Non indugiamo dunque più.
Darete
Signore,
Porgi il braccio a costor, che non inciampi
Nel difficil sentiero il piè tremante.
Due Guardie Trojane afferrano per le braccia Polinestore
Accostatevi.
Polinestore
Olà, qual forma è questa
Di porger braccio al Re?

[Piovene, *Polidoro*, V,ii]

Piovene proceeded in the same way throughout the scene: translating descriptions into scenery and movement on stage, and indirect speeches (past tense) into direct speeches (present tense).

The opening scenes, too, are a transposition of Torelli's narrations. The opera commences with an impressive exterior, described in detail by the stage direction in the libretto: on one side a Royal marquee outside the city of Sestos, on the other side the main gate of the city; a view of hills and the sea with Pirro riding a horse and accompanied by chariots and camels loaded with precious gifts.[53] The arrival of Pirro and his meeting with King Polinestore were only briefly narrated in Torelli. Piovene transformed a narration into action on stage, thereby inserting a popular operatic *topos* for the opening scene. Lotti's *sinfonia* with trumpets and oboes should be considered as an integral part of the first scenic unit;[54] this is dominated by male figures (Pirro, Polinestore, Darete and soldiers) and concluded by Pirro's exit aria. The following stage set shows an interior (or semi-interior): Royal *logge* leading to the queen's apartments. If we exclude the scenes with Andromaca, this scenic unit corresponds to the opening of Torelli's tragedy showing the anguish of Iliona (who has to choose between her brother Polidoro and her son Deifilo) and the exchange of rings (after the exchange of clothes) between the two princes Polidoro and Deifilo.

In my opinion, it is possible to recognise in Piovene's attempt to marry the visual changes of stage-sets with the changes in the dramatic situation a procedure similar to those observed by Mercedes Viale Ferrero in Zeno and Metastasio.[55] The use of an outdoor scene to frame the public, official character of the proceedings and the choice of an indoor scene to receive more private conversations seems to establish a pattern. As the *tragedia* proceeds, this association between the outdoor/public sphere and indoor/private sphere becomes gradually more ambiguous, although it is re-

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[53] The stage direction in I,i reads: *Padiglione reale fuori della città di Sesto dall'una parte; dall'altra gran porta della città, con parte delle muraglie. Nel prospetto veduta di colline, dalle quali discende Pirro a cavallo, accompagnato da diversi carriaggi e cammelli carichi di doni preziosi. Si vede pure da una parte in distanza l'armata de' Greci su l'ancore.*

[54] The opening of Lotti's *Foca superbo* of 1717 (on a libretto by Lucchini) presents very similar features.

[55] Mercedes Viale Ferrero, 'Le didascalie sceniche del Metastasio', in *Metastasio e il mondo musicale*, ed by M.T. Muraro (Florence: Olschki, 1989), pp. 133-48.

established in the finale. This is not just a sign of the difficulties which the librettist encountered during the process of transforming an early Baroque tragedy with no stage-set changes into a modern *dramma* that required visual variety. The core of Torelli's tragedy lies in the attempt of the tyrant Polinestore to hide his private affairs behind the *commun bene* and *ragion di Stato*. One of the ways in which Torelli manages to express this antithesis between the tyrant's private and public image is by keeping Polinestore and his *entourage* completely separate from Iliona. I would suggest that Piovene tried to visualise this same antithesis through the choice of stage sets and the use of space within the set. The two stage-sets of Jupiter's and Plutus' temples, for example, are both divided into two areas: one section of the stage is for the official rites and the other for more private conversations. The two private areas are also diametrically opposed: while in Jupiter's Temple the private area is placed underground (*luogo sotterraneo*), in Plutus' it is located in the higher part of the Temple (*parte superiore del Tempio*).

The blurring of the distinction between public and private seems to begin with the intrusion of Iliona into the public sphere of Polinestore in III,v-viii. Here Iliona addresses Polinestore for the first time and dares to reprimand him in front of his Captain and Pirro.[56] Polinestore's cruelty and deceit, though, are publicly disclosed only in the finale, when the gates of Plutus' Temple (the King's private space as opposed to the public Temple of Jupiter in Act III) are finally opened in order to allow the people to observe Polinestore's punishment.

Notwithstanding the importance attached to the King's double-dealing, the pseudo-Machiavellian Polinestore is not the *primo uomo* in Piovene's *tragedia* (he has only one aria, 'Eccole orribili', in III,viii). At the end of the most obvious display of Polinestore's Royal status in I,ii, it is Pirro, not Polinestore, who sings the first aria of

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[56] Pirro was present in the preceding scene (III,vi) and there are no references to his exit. If present in III,vii, he remains silent.

the opera, 'Cento scettri e cento regni', which immediately shifts the interest from politics to love. In fact, all of Pirro's arias are bright 'love' arias. Even when he finally has the opportunity to accomplish his mission and to kill Polidoro, he sings 'Io svenarti perché mai?' (III,iii) (Why should I kill you?), a playful minuet in which Pirro reaffirms his belief that he will obtain the hand of his beloved Andromaca. The lightness of this aria strikes the listener all the more, as it constitutes Pirro's later reply to Polidoro's vehement provocation in the virtuosic 'Guardami pur superbo' in II,i. Indeed, one of Pirro's dramatic functions appears to be precisely that of lightening the sombre tone of the *tragedia.*

In both works Iliona is the one who suffers the most, as she is caught in a tragic dilemma. Apart from Darete, she is the only personage aware of the true identity of the princes, and therefore the one who will ultimately decide who is going to die. Iliona's anguish in having to lose either her brother or her son is vividly conveyed in both Torelli's and Piovene's texts. Torelli's Iliona, however, is a static figure: her doubt is resolved at the very beginning; it returns every now and then, only to be resolved again. Capable of great violence - Polinestore calls her 'Tigre hircana' - she seeks and gains revenge. In the *tragedia per musica*, her first aria, 'Come belva', could easily have been developed in this direction, but Lotti instead chose to explore the pathetic vein and composed a *siciliana.* He pursued the pathetic effect in three out of Iliona's six arias. Words such as 'piango' (in 'Come belva' I,iii), 'madre' (in 'Non mi dir madre' II,iv), 'disperata' and 'pietà' (in 'Lasciami per pietà' III,vii) are chosen as words of inspiration. In 'Come belva' and 'Non mi dir madre' the voice is highlighted through the use of the *bassetto di viole*, and, in 'Lasciami per pietà' through the unison between the first violins and the voice. 'Come belva' is built on a rhythmic motif which imitates the sobbing of Iliona. This dotted figure is used for the first coloratura on 'piango' and receives emphasis through the contrast with the preceding quavers on 'tremo' and 'smanio' (Ex. 4.1). In 'Lasciami per pietà', the word 'disperata' is immediately repeated

after its first enunciation; the textual repetition places emphasis on this word from the start, while the musical repetition of the downward movement of passing quavers a third lower expresses a general sense of weakness and gradual relinquishment (Ex. 4.2). The musical tools employed by Lotti to underline Iliona's strategy of trying to arouse pity for her tragic fate, is to emphasise the noun 'crudeltà' with extended, but not flowing, *colorature*.

The dramatic theme of 'veri amici' (true friends) combined with that of the exchanged children - the subject of Corneille's *Héraclius* - is well known.[57] Like Héraclius and Martian, Polidoro and Deifilo are so close that they are willing to die for each other. This 'virtuous competition', as well as the quality of Polidoro as a leader, are established through the use of dramaturgy and music. Polidoro is the one who suggests the exchange of clothes and rings and who first meets and confronts Pirro. Deifilo's arias 'Me dei Greci' (I,vii) and 'Se ti serbo' (II,iii), both referring to his willingness to die for his friend, are immediately followed by Polidoro's 'Senz'ombra di delitto' and 'Quell'ermellino', respectively.[58] Although Deifilo's arias are no less virtuosic than his friend's, it is because of their position that Polidoro's arias overshadow Deifilo's. All of Deifilo's solo arias are in ternary metre while all of Polidoro's are in duple metre. This not only distinguishes the two princes; it also lends incisiveness to Polidoro's arias. Comparing two of the arias in question, 'Me dei Greci' and 'Senz'ombra di delitto', one can see how the idea of competition is transferred to the singing of the aria itself (Ex. 4.3 and 4.4). The two arias are kept distinct by the exploitation of lower and higher registers (Deifilo, alto castrato, and Polidoro, soprano castrato) as well as the use of the differing metres. The greater fluidity of Polidoro's

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[57] *I veri amici* was also the title of a libretto, possibly by Domenico Lalli, which was based on Corneille's *Héraclius* and first set to music by Paulati in 1713 and later, as *Candace*, by Vivaldi.
[58] In the manuscript the aria 'Quell'ermellino' is incomplete: it lacks the last 5-6 bars of the A ritornello and the first four lines (out of six) of the A section. The page numbering is not interrupted, therefore the pages could have gone astray at a very early stage in the preparation of the manuscript or even have been mistakenly omitted by the copyist.

aria is facilitated by the metre and meaning of the poetic text: octosyllables (with four accents) in Deifilo's aria and heptasyllables (with three accents) in Polidoro's. Furthermore, the A section in Deifilo's 'Me dei Greci' is constituted by three independent one-line statements, while that in 'Senz'ombra di delitto' is a single three-line statement. Nevertheless, both arias employ very similar musical material and this suffices to establish a connection between the two (we must not forget that one follows the other after only a few bars of recitative).

Although Piovene preserves the entire plot, as well as much verse and the metaphorical content from Torelli's *Polidoro*, the two tragedies are markedly different in terms of their structure. Torelli's tragedy is very static and full of narrations; these are almost 'automatically' transposed into actions by Piovene. The following Table shows the long and numerous narrations that Piovene transferred to the stage:

Table 4.3: *Polidoro*. Piovene's episodes narrated in Torelli's tragedy

Piovene	**Torelli**
I,i-ii Pirro's arrival and request for Polidoro	pp. 11ff. Deifilo's narration to Polidoro
III,i-iv Deifilo in the temple	pp. 41-50 Part of the Captain's and the Secretary's narrations
V,i-ii In the temple: Revelation of Polinestore's crime and his blinding	pp. 101-114 The Priest narrates the same events

Some of the narrations, however, had to be retained, albeit extensively abridged. The second scenic unit, *Deliziosa contigua al tempio di Giove* (Inner garden next to

Jupiter's temple), which frames a key point in the drama, reveals Piovene's unease in combining narration and action. In the outdoor space near the Temple (where Deifilo is soon going to be killed), which is close enough to allow Iliona to go and report Deifilo's death to Polinestore, the entrances and exits of the characters are rather clumsy and unclear; Polinestore and Iliona exeunt only to re-enter immediately, and the stage appears empty between scenes vii and viii:

III.v
Polinestore, Pirro, Capitano: Polinestore confirms his promise to Pirro
III.vi
Iliona, Polinestore, Pirro, Capitano: Iliona addresses Polinestore and reprimands him. Polinestore and Captain exeunt. (What about Pirro?)
III.vii
Iliona, and then Darete: Iliona wants to see her son Deifilo for the last farewell + aria 'Lasciami per pietà'. Exit Iliona. (What about Darete?)
III.viii
Polinestore and a guard, then Iliona: Iliona tells Polinestore of Deifilo's death. Polinestore believes her and plans his revenge. (End of Act III)

Up until now, both texts appear to have been structured in blocks of scenes centred around either Polinestore or Iliona. Unlike Piovene, Torelli keeps them separate: Iliona and Polinestore never meet on stage, although the presence of Iliona in these scenes could have been inspired by Torelli himself through the Captain's praise of Polinestore's resoluteness:

> E mostrerai à queste donne imbelli
> Che solo son nel mento, e ne le vesti
> E nel suon de la voce lor virili,
> Che sei Re veramente, e sai regnare,
> Et accoppiar co'l senno il forte braccio.
>
> [Torelli, *Polidoro*, p. 50-51]

This is echoed in Polinestore's words to Iliona:

I politici affari io sol maneggio;
Tu torna a l'ago, e al femminil lavoro.
[Piovene, *Polidoro*, III,vi]

The librettist shortened Torelli's text and created a bridge between Polinestore and Iliona with important consequences. One of these is the possibility of a visual transposition of the conflict between 'private' and 'public'.

Iliona's intrusion into Polinestore's space initiates Polinestore's emotional involvement that culminates in his only aria, 'Eccole orribili'. This is the only time when Polinestore seems to be agitated by emotions of such violence that they almost drive him insane (there is no such moment in Torelli's tragedy). This must have been a great scene for the bass Giovanni Battista Cavana, who was renowned for his considerable acting skills. It is indeed a very dramatic scene, but the increase in tension throughout the recitative fails to reach a musical climax in the aria 'Eccole orribili' - an aria *di mezzo* without da capo that at least does not interrupt the flow of emotions. The text is a traditional invocation to the furies in *quinari sdruccioli* and exploits a solid tradition that goes back to Medea's invocation 'Dall'antro magico' in Cavalli's *Giasone* (1648). The fundamental features of Medea's invocation, its apparent dynamism (normally achieved through the use of *concitato* or fast semiquavers in unison and dotted rhythm) and harmonic stability with the voice singing on the notes of the tonic chord, are shared by Polinestore's aria. I would suggest that the musical anti-climax of Polinestore's aria is caused precisely by the process of transferring a *topos* from the dramatic context for which it was created to a different one, without adapting its distinctive features to the new dramatic situation.

In his attempt to produce a true *tragedia per musica* with a *funesto fine*,[59] Piovene tried to combine the depiction of static figures like Iliona and Polinestore with

[59] Reinhard Strohm, '*Tragédie* into "Dramma per Musica"' (Part Three), *Informazioni e studi Vivaldiani* 11 (1990), pp. 11-25, points out that the *funesto fine* did not necessarily entail the unhappiness or death of the hero.

theatrical display: the opening scene constitutes a good example. Others include the scenes in the two Temples with dances, choruses and the appearance of Deifilo's ghost. One scene, in particular, stands out for its fast pace and theatricality, as it is here that the confusion of the princes's identities reaches a climax.[60] In II,iii Iliona is asked to reveal which of the two princes is Polidoro; what she does, instead, is to enhance the confusion. Her intentionally delirious words almost lead to a madness scene:

Iliona
Non lo dirò, crudele, ò pur dirollo
In guisa tal, che di fallir paventi.
Odi; fuori di me non ci è chi sappia
Qual Polidoro sia, qual sia mio figlio.
Se Deifilo cerco, ecco il fratello,
Se cerco Polidoro, eccomi il figlio.
Polidoro, Deifilo, fratello,
Figlio, nomi funesti io vi confondo.

Figlio, Germano, Germano, Figlio,
Chi di voi salvi nel gran periglio
Sorella, ò Madre ancor non so.
Te salvar, Figlio, vorrei, *a Deifilo*
Ma Fratello tu mi sei:
Te Fratello salverei, *a Polidoro*
Ma Figliuolo tu mi sei.
Ahi che forse, per salvarvi,
Ambedue vi perderò!

Scelgasi dunque, e chi vogl'io si salvi.
Fratel. *a Deifilo*
Deifilo
Germana.
Iliona
Nò, che sei mio figlio.
Figliuolo. *a Polidoro*
Polidoro
Madre.

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[60] The scene in question does not exist in Torelli's tragedy.

Iliona
No, sei mio fratello.
Figlio, e fratello mio, fratello, e figlio,
a tutti e due
Per confondervi, e togliervi a la morte,
Ambo siete fratelli, ambo miei figli;
Ma per scegliere, e darvi al traditore,
Nessuno m'è Fratel, nessun m'è Figlio.
Pirro
Queste sono follie di donna amante.

The fast pace of Iliona's recitative is not interrupted by her aria 'Figlio, germano', an aria without da capo and with continuo accompaniment only (Ex. 4.5). In this aria Iliona alternately addresses Polidoro and Deifilo. Like many other arias of the same type, it needs to be accompanied by the appropriate gestures in order to be effective. The lack of indicative gestures and of gestures of address, in fact, would change Iliona's aria into a self-indulgent monologue.[61]

Lotti responds to gestures of address and indicative gestures by using brief segments that contrast with the long stretches of melody. The opening line ('Figlio, germano, germano, figlio') suggests a succession of these gestures supported by stable long notes and leaps. The chiasmus allows Lotti to emphasise the gesture by enlarging the descending interval (perfect 4th-perfect 5th) and using stepwise motion for the immediate repetition of 'germano', before descending a perfect 5th and coming to a standstill on the unresolved B natural with an imperfect cadence (b. 3). It should be noted that the exploitation of the interval of a 2nd for the repetition of 'germano' not only avoids plain repetition, but also supports a gesture of expression: by repeating the word 'germano', Iliona is indulging in the affective meaning of the word as well as the tenderness associated with it. It is in fact the stepwise motion that is mainly used for

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[61] Dene Barnett, in *The Art of Gesture*, defines indicative gestures as: 'pointing by means of a gesture or posture to an object, a place, a person or an event' (p. 27), and gesture of address as: 'an attitude or movement in which the eyes, face, hands or body are directed towards another person in order to indicate that it is he who is being addressed' (p. 69). See here, Chapter 1, 'Poetics and Rhetoric as Cultural Background of *Dramma per Musica*'.

the lines 'chi di voi salvi nel gran periglio' (b. 4) and 'ancor non so' (bb. 7-8), which, we soon understand, expresses Iliona's thoughts almost exclusively. The opening motif on 'Figlio, germano' is inverted in bars 5-6 for the equivalent 'Sorella, o madre', but is rhythmically unstable, almost producing hemiola effects which may well suggest Iliona's gradual discouragement and loss of confidence. The bass line replies to the opening gestures of address in the vocal part with recurrent figurations made up of ascending leaps and rapidly descending scales covering the range of an octave. It conveys a general sense of excitement associated with Iliona's desperate attempt to prolong her son's life.

The queen's subsequent recitative enhances the sense of disorientation. This is acknowledged by Polidoro's question 'Perché così confuso ora favelli?' and expressed by uncomfortable leaps and sudden changes of direction in the vocal line, supported, this time, by an unclear harmonic path.

Piovene's choices were not always shared by the composer of the music, Antonio Lotti, who often upset Piovene's pursuit of situations and images of terror, thus hindering the librettist's attempt to create a true *tragedia per musica*. Lotti, however, demonstrated a skilful handling of pathetic situations which he pursued even when Piovene's poetry aspired to create crude images of almost barbaric violence, by finding inspiration for his musical *inventio* in words that would be often associated with more pitiful circumstances. Furthermore, the Venetian composer proved his ability both to underline gestures and movement on stage and to use music to identify the *dramatis personae* (in particular the two princes). Piovene, on his part, betrayed some difficulty in dealing with the dramaturgical structure of the libretto, and in particular in transforming Torelli's narrations into action. He tried to avoid narrations altogether and often found himself unable to avoid superfluous scenes. This happened, for example, in IV,iii. In this scene Piovene interrupted Iliona's long monologue, in which she reveals

to Polidoro his real identity, with Polinestore's meaningless entrance and exit. Furthermore, because of the static nature of Torelli's characters, Piovene sometimes failed to create a variety of *affetti* that would have provided material for arias. All this, together with the scarcity of other experiments of this kind, may indicate that old Italian classical tragedy was generally ill-suited for the purpose of raising the standard of *dramma per musica*; at least, it offered little help to the librettist who sought to resolve the tensions between an ideal and the realities of taste and conventions of the modern operatic stage. Conversely, we will see in the ensuing chapters how fruitful the influence of French tragedy was to be for the future development of *dramma per musica*.

Chapter 5

French Tragedy in the Italian Manner: Spoken Translations and Musical Adaptations

Most of Scipione Maffei's efforts to revive classical Italian tragedy and to create a modern tragedy that was truly Italian were part of his crusade against the growing popularity of French theatre in Italy. He began his career in the field of dramatic criticism by joining in the Franco-Italian *querelle* with the publication of his *Osservazioni sulla Rodoguna tragedia francese* in 1700, following the performance, in Italian, of Pierre Corneille's tragedy *Rodogune, princesse des Parthes* at the *Arena* of Verona. Despite the limitations of their rhetorical-literary perspective, the *Osservazioni* - published in the same year as Ludovico Antonio Muratori's *Vita e rime di Carlo Maria Maggi* and just before Gian Gioseffo Orsi's *Considerazioni sopra un famoso libro Franzese intitolato La manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages de l'esprit* of 1703 - is among the first eulogies of Italian poetry. These were stimulated by the publications of Nicolas Boileau, P.René Rapin, Adrien Baillet and, in particular, P.Dominique Bouhours' *Manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages de l'esprit* of 1687.[1] Francophile criticism, as opposed by Maffei, was directed not only towards the bombastic style of Giambattista Marino and the *concettismo*, ambiguity, irrationality and highly metaphorical language of all Italian baroque poets, including Tasso, but also against Italian literary culture in its entirety.

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[1] Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, *Art poétique* (Paris, 1674); P. René Rapin, *Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote* (Paris, 1674); Adrien Baillet, *Jugements des Savants sur les principaux ouvrages des auteurs* (Paris, 1685); P.Dominique Bouhours' *Manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages de l'esprit* (Paris, 1687).

Corneille's *Rodogune* (1647) was translated into Italian as early as 1651 and was among the first in a long line of translations and adaptations of French dramas produced for the Italian stage during the following century.[2] Popular choices were Philippe Quinault, Jean Galbert de Campistron, François-Joseph de Lagrange-Chancel, Antoine Houdar de la Motte, Prosper Jolyot Sieur de Crébillon, Edmé Boursault,[3] Nicolas Pradon, Antoine de La Fosse, Jean de Rotrou, and, of course, Jean Racine and the two Corneilles.[4]

Pierre and Thomas Corneille were by far the most popular and the most translated French authors during the first half of the eighteenth century.[5] The earliest printed Italian translation of Pierre Corneille's dramas appears to have been *Le Cid*, published in 1647. Yet *Le Cid* and *Rodogune*, together with a few early translations from Quinault, are isolated cases. Not until the 1680s do such translations begin to appear in greater numbers, especially in Rome with the famous Chracas editions of Filippo Merelli's translations for the Collegio Clementino between 1693 and 1710. Pierre Corneille's *Héraclius* was translated in 1691, *Cinna*, *Horace* and *Nicomède* in

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[2] Cfr. the important bibliographical account by Luigi Ferrari, *Le traduzioni italiane del teatro tragico francese dei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Paris: Champion, 1925).

[3] In a letter of 29 March 1698 to Muratori, Orsi enthusiastically refers to the 1692 translation of Boursault's *Marie Stuart*: 'Se si potesse havere la Maria Stuarda di Borseault recitata qui nel Collegio dei Nobili [Bologna] non si potria pretender di più, perché questo nuovo autor Francese è meraviglioso...'. Quoted after Simonetta Ingegno Guidi, 'Per la storia del teatro francese in Italia: L.A. Muratori, G.G. Orsi e P.J. Martello', *La rassegna della letteratura italiana* 78, VII/1-2 (1974), p. 66. Ingegno Guidi ascribes this translation, along with the eight translations of the first two volumes of *Opere varie trasportate dal francese e recitate in Bologna*, published by Dalla Volpe between 1724 and 1740, to Pier Jacopo Martello. Martello also translated another tragedy by Boursault, *Germanicus*, possibly for the Bolognese performances of 1703.

[4] Nicola Mangini, 'Sul teatro tragico francese in italia nel secolo XVIII', *Convivium* 32 (1964), pp. 347-64. According to Ferrari, *Le traduzioni italiane del teatro tragico francese dei secoli XVII e XVIII*, the first printed translation from Quinault, *Amalasonte*, appeared in 1664 and was followed in 1667 by *Le fantôme amoureux*; Campistron's *Phocion* was translated into Italian in 1699, *Arminius* in 1710 (the Orsi-Muratori correspondence refers also to Count Gian Niccolò Tanari's translation, performed at the Collegio di Montalto, Bologna, in 1707), *Tiridate* in 1723, and Lagrange-Chancel's *Athénaïs* appeared in print as *Atenaide* in 1717.

[5] Voltaire became by far the most popular French author in Italy during the second half of the eighteenth century.

1701, Racine's *Alexandre le Grand* in 1697 and *Bérénice* in 1699.[6] *Alexandre* was commonly believed to have been the earliest printed translation of a work by Racine. From a letter dated 29 March 1698 from Marquis Orsi to Muratori, however, we learn of otherwise unknown translations, the first of Racine's *Bajazet* made by Orsi himself (possibly from 1693 and certainly staged in Bologna in 1697) and the second of *Mithridate*, (probably dating back to 1694).[7] In another letter to Muratori, dated 7 November 1701, Orsi ascribes the translation of *Mithridate* to a certain Piantini, and mentions the translation of another of Racine's tragedies, *Iphigénie en Aulide*, by Piantini, Count Sacchi and Pier Jacopo Martello. The Orsi-Muratori correspondence is thus of great interest for the history of theatre in Italy, as it provides further information about translations and performances of French dramas in Modena and Bologna and informs us of Orsi's part in them. Moreover, it reveals Muratori's direct involvement, hitherto unknown, in the organisation of theatrical performances of French dramas (and perhaps *drammi per musica*) in Milan (February 1695-Summer 1700) and Modena.

Besides Bologna and Rome, Modena and perhaps Milan were the first centres to introduce this new repertoire of French plays into Italian culture through the editorial and theatrical initiatives of translation and performance. The principal venues were the private halls of Jesuit colleges and palaces - the Collegio dei Nobili and Palazzo Bentivoglio in Bologna, the Collegio Clementino in Rome, the Collegio dei Nobili di S.Carlo in Modena - and among the performers were students and aristocrats, as well as professional actors. The actor Giovanni Andrea Zanotti, for example, was a friend of Marquis Orsi and his professional experience may have contributed to the staging of Orsi's favourite pieces. Zanotti returned from his journey to France in 1684, and it is almost certainly his direct experience of French theatre which prompted him to

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[6] Ferrari, *Le traduzioni italiane del teatro tragico francese dei secoli XVII e XVIII.*

[7] According to the Orsi-Muratori correspondence studied by Ingegno Guidi, Orsi translated *Bajazet* together with Pietro Antonio Bernardoni, also known for his opera libretti, and Malisardi. Ingegno Guidi, 'Per la storia del teatro francese in Italia', p. 71.

undertake the first translations of Corneille's dramas in Bologna.[8] Even the famous actor Luigi Riccoboni, before taking an active part in the performance of French dramas in translation and in the revival of Italian tragedies,[9] formed his taste in the circle of Marquis Orsi that included distinguished intellectuals such as Muratori, Pietro Antonio Bernardoni, Eustachio Manfredi and Pier Jacopo Martello - all members of the Accademia dell'Arcadia.

Florence and Venice do not appear to have participated much in the first (pre-1700) flourish of translations and performances of French drama. According to the theatre scholar Nicola Mangini, the *Serenissima* became a centre of primary importance only from the 1730s with the translations of Carlo and Gasparo Gozzi, Francesco Gritti, Pietro Chiari, Luisa Bergalli and Elisabetta Caminer.[10] Still, French tragedies and tragicomedies were introduced to the larger audience of the opera houses as early as the 1680s through the adaptations for *dramma per musica*. The first time Pierre Corneille's tragedy *Horace* appeared in Italian guise was probably in 1688, when Vincenzo Grimani's *dramma per musica Orazio* was performed on the stage of the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in Venice. Similarly, Domenico David's *L'amante eroe* of 1691, based on Racine's *Alexandre le Grand* (as well as Claude Boyer's *Porus*),[11] appeared six years before the first prose translation of Racine's original (1697). David's *dramma per musica*, in fact, appears to have been the earliest Italian adaptation from Racine.

In Florence, French travelling troupes performed French dramas in the original language.[12] Antonio Salvi's libretti modelled on French tragedies, however, appear to have been the only French-based dramas (in Italian) patronised by Prince Ferdinando

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[8] Ingegno Guidi, 'Per la storia del teatro francese in Italia', p. 69; Xavier de Courville, *Un apôtre de l'art du théâtre au XVIIIe siècle. Luigi Riccoboni dit Lélio* (Paris: Droz, 1943), vol. 1 (1676-1715), *L'expérience italienne*, p. 132.

[9] See Chapter 4, 'Italian Tragedy and *Dramma per Musica*'.

[10] Mangini, 'Sul teatro tragico francese in Italia'.

[11] See Reinhard Strohm, 'Metastasio's *Alessandro nell'Indie* and its earliest settings', in R. Strohm, *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 232-48.

[12] During the second half of the seventeenth century, French travelling troupes were the only foreign *comici* allowed to perform in Tuscany.

de' Medici.[13] Salvi's *Astianatte* of 1701, based on Racine's *Andromaque*, preceded by just a few years the first known translation of Racine's tragedy by Eustachio Manfredi (Bologna, 1705). A second version of this latter translation, this time in verse, was performed in Modena and published in 1708. It was translated, although we are not exactly sure when, by the group of Modenese literati that performed it; each actor, in accordance with the conventions of *commedia dell'arte*, translated his own part.[14] This was probably the translation used by Riccoboni and his wife for their Italian performances. Riccoboni subsequently took *Andromaca* to Paris in 1722 and published it in 1725.[15]

These first translations were rather free adaptations, or more accurately *travestimenti* of the French masterpieces. They appeared at first in prose and sometimes under a different title: Corneille's *Le Cid* was transformed into *Amore et Honore* (1675), *Honore contra Amore* (1691) and *L'Amante inimica, overo Il Rodrico* (1699); *Don Sanche d'Aragon* into *La vera nobiltà* (1701); *Horace* into *L'Amore della Patria sopra tutti gli Amori* (1701); *Nicomède* became *La gara della virtù tra i discepoli di Roma e Cartagine* (1701). The original five acts were often reduced to three, new episodes were inserted, scenes were cut or merged, long monologues were turned into dialogues, and while some characters were eliminated, new ones were introduced.[16] In one of the versions of Racine's *Phèdre*, the final scene of Act III was substantially altered, simply because

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[13] Cfr. Robert Weaver, *A Chronology of Music in the Florentine Theatre 1590-1750* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, Inc., 1978). The best account of Salvi's output under Ferdinando de' Medici is by Francesco Giuntini, *I drammi per musica di Antonio Salvi: Aspetti della 'riforma' del libretto nel primo Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994).

[14] Marquis Giovanni Rangoni, future Ambassador in Paris of the Duke of Modena, played the role of Oreste.

[15] Courville, *Un apôtre de l'art du théâtre*, p. 138-9.

[16] Cfr. Mangini, 'Sul teatro tragico francese in Italia', p. 347-8. Mangini refers to Giulio Meregazzi, *Le tragedie di Pierre Corneille nelle traduzioni e imitazioni italiane del sec. XVIII* (Bergamo: Fagnani, 1906), Vincenzo De Angelis, 'Per la fortuna del teatro di Racine in Italia: Notizie e appunti', *Studi di filologia moderna* 6 (1913), and Id., *Critiche, traduzioni ed imitazioni italiane del teatro di G.Racine durante il sec. XVIII* (Arpino: Fraioli, 1914).

> [...] una bella e graziosa Dama dovendo rappresentare la parte di Arecia a tutti parea, che non abbastanza in scena si lasciasse vedere ed udire.[17]

Some of these translations were intended for private performances in palaces and *Accademie*, but most were for the moral edification and rhetorical training of the students of the Jesuit colleges in Rome and Bologna. Only a small number of these adaptations were destined to reach the public theatres. Whatever the circumstances of the performance, however, the primary concern of the translators was the adaptation of these foreign dramas in conformity with current 'Italian taste'. The general tendency was to moderate the tragic situations, introduce a happy ending and increase the spectacular element - not least in the use of stage sets not provided for in the original dramas.[18] This implies that happy endings and stage-sets were not *a priori* a quality of opera but that they were trends preceding the consolidation of our concept of opera. The vague phrase 'opera accomodata per le scene all'uso d'Italia' (with the term 'opera' indicating 'theatrical production') that often accompanied the printed translations suggests that these adaptations played a mediating role between French culture and Italian.

Similar wordings also accompanied the publication of certain libretti modelled on French dramas. The publisher of *I veri amici* (Venice, 1713), Marino Rossetti, introduced the *dramma per musica* based on Pierre Corneille's *Héraclius* with these words:

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[17] '[...] everybody agreed that a beautiful and charming Lady, having to perform the role of Arecia, was not seen and heard for long enough on stage.' *La Fedra di Monsieur Racine* in *Opere varie trasportate dal Franzese e recitate in Bologna*, Tomo VII (Bologna, 1737). Mangini, 'Sul teatro tragico francese in Italia', p. 349.

[18] In a letter to Muratori dated 11 February 1706, Orsi refers to the sumptuous décors of the theatre in Bologna where Du Ryer's *Muzio Scevola*, Racine's *Berenice* and Quinault's *Amalasunta* were performed in Italian during the Carnival of 1706: '[...] In questo Teatro non si posson lodar che le Scene, le quali sono oltre modo sontuose [...]'. Ingegno Guidi, 'Per la storia del teatro francese in Italia', p. 76n.

L'idea del presente Drama, è presa dalla famosa Tragedia di Mons. Pietro Cornelio, intitolata l'Eraclio, ella fu appoggiata ad una storia Egittia, cangiativi perciò i nomi. Consegnata poi ad altro autore perché la verseggiasse, questo si è creduto in debito di aggiungervi diverse altre scene ancora per ridurre l'opera all'uso Italiano, che gusta vedere ad agire gl'interlocutori, e non solo sentirli parlare; tanto più, che gli attori, che devono rappresentarla, ostenteranno in ciò un particolare talento. Tanto egli ha voluto avvisarti, acciò non ascrivasi a sua temerità, l'essersi egli fatto lecito di por la penna in un soggetto maneggiato con tanto artificio dal più celebre poeta, che vantino le scene di Francia.[19]

Salvi's justification for the changes introduced into Thomas Corneille's original *Le Comte d'Essex* in his libretto *Amore e maestà* (Florence, 1715) is even more explicit in his reference to the limitations imposed by the demands of the music, the cast available (seven or eight singers, hierarchically organised) and the conventions of contemporary Italian theatre:

> Il soggetto è l'istesso che già espose sulle scene di Francia il famoso Tommaso Cornelio sotto il nome del *Conte d'Essex*, ma dovendo questa [tragedia] servire alla musica, alla compagnia ed al teatro italiano, m'è convenuto fingere la scena in Persia, scemare il numero degli attori, variar lo scenario, far comparire varie azioni ed alterarla molto dal suo originale. Ho però conservato i caratteri de' principali personaggi e resa la catastrofe più funesta e più spessi gl'incidenti [...].[20]

These kinds of preface prompt a further investigation of the role of *dramma per musica* in the shaping of a new dramatic repertoire at a time when opera, and not

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19 'The idea of the present drama is taken from the famous tragedy of Pierre Corneille, entitled Eraclio. It was grafted on to an Egyptian story and the names have been changed accordingly. It was then handed over to another author to be versified and he deemed it necessary to add a few new scenes in order to adapt the opera to the Italian style that enjoys seeing the characters act, and not just hearing them speak; all the more so because the actors that are due to perform it bring outstanding talents to their task. He [the librettist] wanted to warn you, so that you would not think him too rash for having dared rework a subject so skilfully treated by France's most celebrated poet.'

20 'The subject is the same as has been presented on the French stage by the famous Thomas Corneille, under the title of the Count of Essex; but since the tragedy has to serve the music, the cast, and the Italian stage, I rather decided to set the scene in Persia, diminish the number of roles, vary the stage-sets, introduce varied actions, and greatly change the piece with respect to the original. I have, however, preserved the characters of the principal roles, made the catastrophe more fatal and tightened the succession of events [...]'. Translation by Reinhard Strohm, '*Tragédie* into "Dramma per musica"' IV, *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 12 (1991), pp. 47.

drama, generally dominated theatrical activity. Theatre historians have long acknowledged that French classical tragedy had a formative influence on the physiognomy of Italian theatre during the entire eighteenth century, and important studies by Piero Weiss have suggested that the influence of French drama was also crucial for the shaping of the genre of *dramma per musica* - a genre which was informed by the same theoretical principles that affected other types of contemporary theatre.[21] Strohm began to investigate the implications of the influence of French drama and of spoken theatre in general on *dramma per musica* in 1977.[22] Since then, he has discussed extensively the dependence of *dramma per musica* on French tragedies and lengthened the list of French dramatists and Italian librettists who, besides Jean Racine, Pierre and Thomas Corneille, Zeno and Metastasio, were involved in the process of adapting French dramas into *drammi per musica*; tragedies by Claude Boyer, Nicolas Pradon or Jean Rotrou were identified by Strohm as having stood as models for librettists such as Antonio Salvi, Agostino Piovene or Domenico David.[23] In particular, using the *avviso al lettore* (quoted above) as a starting point for his comparative analysis of Salvi's libretto and its French model, Strohm investigated the boundaries between the early eighteenth-century opera libretto and drama. He showed that the two literary forms were indeed governed by the same theoretical precepts, thereby

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[21] Piero Weiss, 'Teorie drammatiche e "infranciosamento"', in *Antonio Vivaldi: Teatro musicale, cultura e società*, ed by L. Bianconi and G. Morelli, (Florence: Olschki, 1982), pp. 273-96; id., 'Metastasio, Aristotle, and Opera seria', *Journal of Musicology* 1 (1982), pp. 385-94; id., 'Neoclassical Criticism and Opera', in *Studies in the History of Music* II (New York: Broude Bros, 1984), pp. 1-30; id., 'Baroque Opera and the Two Verisimilitudes', in *Music and Civilization: Essays in Honor of Paul Henry Lang* (New York, 1984), pp. 117-26.

[22] Strohm, 'Handel, Metastasio, Racine: the Case of *Ezio*', *Musical Times* 98 (1977), pp. 901-3.

[23] Strohm, '*Tragédie* into "Dramma per musica"' I, *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 9 (1988), pp. 14-24; II, ibid.,10 (1989), pp. 57-101; III, ibid., 11 (1990), pp. 11-25; IV, ibid., 12 (1991), pp. 47-74; id., 'Metastasio's *Alessandro nell'Indie* and its earliest settings', in R. Strohm, *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 232-48; id., 'Auf der Suche nach dem Drama im "Dramma per musica": die Bedeutung der französischen Tragödie', in *De Musica et Cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und Oper Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by P. Cahn and A.-K. Heimer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), pp. 481-93; id., 'Händel-Oper und Regeldrama', in *Zur Dramaturgie der Barockoper: Bericht über die Symposien 1992 und 1993*, ed. by H.J. Marx (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1994) (Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Händel-Akademie, vol. 5), pp. 33-54.

challenging the generally accepted principle of the existence of the opera libretto as a separate genre.[24] I would suggest that not only did French tragedy have a formative influence on *dramma per musica*, as Strohm and Weiss argued, but that *dramma per musica* itself acted as a mediator between French and Italian theatre together with, and certainly not as a consequence of, the numerous contemporary prose and verse translations from the French.

The first *drammi per musica* modelled on French tragedies began to appear in Venice towards the end of the seventeenth century, with Vincenzo Grimani's *Orazio* of 1688 (from Corneille's *Horace*), Domenico David's *L'Amante eroe* of 1691 (from Racine's *Alexandre le Grand* and Claude Boyer's *Porus*), Adriano Morselli's *Incoronazione di Serse* of 1691 (from Corneille's *Rodogune*) and *Ibraim sultano* of 1692 (from Racine's *Bajazet*), and Giannini's *Onorio in Roma* of 1692 (from T. Corneille's *Stilichon*).[25]

These first adaptations do not depart in any obvious manner from the style of other contemporary or earlier libretti and their immediate predecessors. At first glance, the influence exerted by the French models on the *drammi* in question does not seem to have extended beyond suggestions regarding subjects, episodes and names. Harris Saunders, who discussed Grimani's reworking of Corneille's *Horace* at some length, described his three libretti, including *Orazio*, as 'bursting with *seicento* vigor, passion and disregard for theoretical prescription'.[26] Saunders himself, however, recognised the seriousness of tone that characterises *Orazio* and its clearer dramatic organisation expressed by the almost uninterrupted *liaison des scènes*, as compared with Grimani's other libretto, *Elmiro re di Corinto*, of the previous year.

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[24] Strohm, '*Tragédie* into "Dramma per musica"', III and IV.
[25] Margaret Murata, however, has identified and discussed elements of Franco-Spanish comedies and tragicomedies in operas produced in Rome since the 1650s under the patronage of the Barberinis. ('Theater *à l'espagnole* and the Italian Libretto', IMS Roundtable, Madrid, 1992).
[26] Harris Sheridan Saunders, *The Repertoire of a Venetian Opera House (1678-1714): The Teatro Grimani di San Giovanni Grisostomo* (Ph.D Diss., Harvard University, 1985), p. 29.

The alterations made by Grimani were numerous. He reduced the original from five to three acts and inserted the happy ending, which necessitated the addition of new scenes. Furthermore, Grimani expanded the love element, which in turn required the expansion of the role of Sabina (Sabine), the insertion of new characters and the distribution of scenes between the lovers throughout the *dramma*. At the same time, Grimani placed emphasis on the representation of martial valour and, by translating Corneille's *exposition* and narrations into action on stage, took full advantage of the conventions of *dramma per musica* through the insertion of spectacular battle scenes and ceremonies. To this end, he even added the character of Flaviano (the Alban dictator) and the mute presence of Orazio's and Curiazio's brothers in order to balance the visual impact of the opposing forces on stage. Grimani's pursuit of contrast is also reflected in the organisation of the stage-sets changes (still unbalanced with four set-changes in the first act, two in the second and three in the third); as Saunders points out, Grimani was able to present both the public and inner conflicts of the protagonists by exploiting the immediacy of 'backdrops charged with meaning' in the alternation of deep and shallow scenes.[27]

Despite these alterations, Grimani retained the bonds between the families that Corneille had reinforced (Horace's wife Sabine is made a sister of the Curiatii) in order to increase the tragic nature of the situation as narrated by his source, Livy. The tightness of the interrelationships between characters, emphasised through family ties, should not be underestimated as it constitutes one of the most effective devices promoting the unity of action.[28] Corneille himself discussed the character of Sabine and compared it with the much criticised *Infante* in *Le Cid*. He explained the reasons for his greater success with the former thus:

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[27] Saunders, *The Repertoire of a Venetian Opera House*, p. 39.

[28] See, for example, the case of Domenico Lalli's libretto *Amor tirannico* discussed here in Chapter 7 with reference to family bonds between the characters and the unity of action.

> L'autre [raison], qu'ayant une fois posé Sabine pour femme d'Horace, il est nécessaire que tous les incidents de ce poème lui donnent les sentiments qu'elle en témoigne avoir, par l'obligation qu'elle a de prendre intérêt à ce qui regarde son mari et ses frères.[29]

It was of course Aristotle who first underlined the inherent potential of family bonds between the characters as a source of the tragic effect:

> Whenever the tragic deed, however, is done within the family - when murder or the like is done or meditated by brother on brother, by son on father, by mother on son, or son on mother - these are the situations the poet should seek after.[30]

Finally, Saunders draws attention to Grimani's concern with contrasting arias and situations (as well as stage sets), frequent outpourings of emotions and varied depiction of characters. This is linked to the overall increase of interaction between characters that determines the faster pace of the action in the *dramma per musica* as compared with the original tragedy. Quite rightly, Saunders recognises in these features the influence of *commedia dell'arte*.[31]

Another important pre-1700 *dramma* of French origin was produced in Rome, at the Teatro Tor di Nona, in 1697 - the year in which the demolition of the theatre was ordered by Pope Innocenzo XII:[32] *La Clemenza d'Augusto*, modelled on Pierre Corneille's *Cinna*, by the Roman poet Carlo Sigismondo Capece.[33] The first act was set to music by Saverio de Luca, the second by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo, the most

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[29] Pierre Corneille, *Horace*, Examen (1660), in *OEuvres complètes*, ed by A. Stegmann (Paris: Seuil, 1963), p. 249.

[30] Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1453b 15-22 (Engl. Trans. by I. Bywater, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1920).

[31] See also my discussion of *Commedia dell'arte* and *Dramma per musica* in Chapters 2 and 3.

[32] The Teatro Tor di Nona was inaugurated in 1671. Christina of Sweden (through Jacques d'Alibert) had obtained a *privilegio* from Pope Clemente IX to built the theatre in 1669. See Alberto Cametti, *Il Teatro Tor di Nona poi di Apollo* (Tivoli: Arti grafiche Chicca, 1938), and Bianca Tavassi La Greca, 'Carlo Fontana e il Teatro di Tor di Nona', in R. Assunto *et alii*, *Il teatro a Roma nel Settecento* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1989), pp. 19-34.

[33] Apparently, the first known translation of Corneille's *Cinna* was published in Rome in 1701, four years after Capece's adaptation. I reserve a detailed discussion of this *dramma per musica* with regard to the French original and Metastasio's *La clemenza di Tito* for a forthcoming study.

popular composer in Venice of the time, and the third by Giovanni Bononcini, who, together with de Luca, was in the service of Prince Colonna, a financial backer of the Tor di Nona.

Capece's dramatic writings have hitherto received scant attention and are in need of a detailed critical assessment. He was among Crescimbeni's favourites,[34] and his libretti were also set to music by two of the greatest composers of his time, Alessandro Scarlatti and George Frideric Handel. Capece (1652-1728) joined the *Accademia dell'Arcadia* in 1692, acquiring the name of Metisto Olbiano. Like many of the future Arcadians (Stampiglia, Zappi, Vicinelli, Figari, Paolucci, Leonio, Crescimbeni and Gravina), Capece had previously belonged to the *Accademia degli Infecondi* since at least 1677, the date of the publication of Sebastiano Lazzarini's *Opera scenica, L'Ambitione ingegnosa.*[35] Capece's name appeared in this publication among other *Accademici Infecondi* who each dedicated a Sonnet to Lazzarini.

His first libretto, *Amor vince fortuna*, dates back to 1686. It was followed by *Il figlio delle selve* (1687) and *I giochi troiani* (1688). His next libretto was *La clemenza d'Augusto* (1697). The nine-year gap between *I giochi troiani* (1688) and *La clemenza* (1697) was perhaps due to his appointments as 'Giudice dello Stato di Ronciglione' in 1689, and as Governor of Terni, Cascia and Assisi later on. Following his father's death in 1695, Capece returned to Rome; after holding the post of 'Agente della Provincia del Patrimonio' for some time, he turned his attention almost exclusively to poetical and theatrical activities.[36]

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[34] Crescimbeni, *La bellezza della volgar poesia* (Rome, 1700), expressed his appreciation for the *drammi* of some fellow 'shepherds' such as Count Giulio Bussi (Tirinto), Giovanni Andrea Moniglia (Nardilo), Silvio Stampiglia (Palemone), Girolamo Gigli (Amaranto), Giacomo Sinibaldi (Panopo), Pietro Antonio Bernardoni (Cromiro) and Carlo Sigismondo Capece (Metisto).

[35] *L'Ambitione ingegnosa. Opera scenica di Sebastiano Lazarini Orvietano, Accademico Infecondo...Roma 1677, con otto Sonetti dedicati all'autore da D.O.Quaranta, D.G.B.Carolani, G.Monaci e dagli Accademici Infecondi G.Berneri, N.F.Saulini, G.B.Levanti, C.S.Capeci, A.F.Micci.* [I-Rc (Comm.118/5)]. 'Opera scenica' was a general term for spoken drama (tragedy excluded).

[36] In addition to *drammi* and *tragedie per musica*, Capece wrote Pastorals, Oratorios, Sonnets, Serenades and *Opere sceniche.*

The first time that Capece experimented with a spoken drama as the basis for a libretto was in 1688, when he was asked to adapt the popular Spanish comedy *Los Juegos Olimpicos* by Agostino de Salazar as a tribute to the Spanish ambassador Marquise Cogolludo. *Los Juegos Olimpicos* became *I giochi troiani* and was performed in the private theatre of the *connestabile* Colonna in 1688. Due to Pope Innocenzo XI's repressive policies against any kind of public spectacle, theatrical life in Rome was at that time largely dominated by the more autonomous private theatres owned by patrons with foreign connections. These included the Rospigliosis, the Pamphiljs, Queen Christina of Sweden and, particularly, the Orsinis, who contributed to the spread of French culture in Rome, and the Colonnas, who were connected to the Spanish aristocracy. Theatrical and musical performances of all kinds had traditionally formed an important part of the programmes for public and private feasts and celebrations, and were largely patronised, culturally and ideologically, by these 'micro-courts' within the Pontifical State.[37]

The published libretto of *I giochi troiani* includes a long dedication and extended note to the reader, virtually a short treatise on poetics, in which Capece tells us about the circumstances surrounding the commission of the libretto, about its sources and about the process of transforming a prose play into a *dramma per musica* - a pastoral, actually. This preface illuminates his concern for both the Aristotelian rules and the practical circumstances of performance.[38] The pastoral character of *I giochi* was an early indication of the orientation and taste of the soon-to-be-established Accademia dell'Arcadia. The unanimous commendation of the genre of *favola*

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[37] Cfr. Lowell Lindgren, 'I trionfi di Camilla', *Studi Musicali* 6 (1977), pp. 89-160; id.,'Il dramma musicale a Roma durante la carriera di Alessandro Scarlatti (1660-1725), in *Le Muse galanti*: *La musica a Roma nel Settecento*, ed. by B. Cagli (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1985), pp. 35-57; Montserrat Moli Frigola, 'Fuochi, teatri e macchine spagnole a Roma nel Settecento', in R. Assunto *et alii*, *Il teatro a Roma nel Settecento* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1989), pp. 215-258; Gloria Staffieri, *Colligite Fragmenta: La vita musicale romana negli "Avvisi Marescotti" (1683-1701)* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1990).

[38] See Appendix 3 for transcriptions of the *avviso al lettore* and the first section of the dedication.

pastorale, which found its manifesto in Gian Vincenzo Gravina's *Discorso* on Alessandro Guidi's *Favola pastorale Endimione* of 1692, led Arcadian librettists to experiment with the pastoral with a view to legitimising *dramma per musica*. The genre was to be limited to 'sano' and 'onesto diletto', since only non-historical subjects could make use of machines, choruses, dances and music in general, and simultaneously preserve *verisimiglianza*.[39]

Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, the foremost patron of the Roman Arcadia, was the author of *L'amore eroico tra i pastori* (1696); according to Giovan Mario Crescimbeni, this was the first pastoral 'to concern itself once more with the old rules, introducing choruses and other qualities pertaining to good comedy'.[40] Similar qualities were also to be found in Maffei's *La fida ninfa* (1694),[41] Manfredi's *Dafni, favola boschereccia per musica* (1696), Martello's four *drammi Il Perseo* (1697) (inspired by Corneille's *tragédie à machines Andromède*), *La Tisbe, Trattenimento per musica* (1697), *Apollo geloso* (1698) and *Gli amici, Pastorale per musica* (1699) and Zeno's *Gl'inganni felici* (1695), *Il Tirsi* (1696) and *Il Narciso* (1697). Together with others who at first seemed to follow the suggestions of the Arcadia, Zeno soon distanced himself from the reform ideal of restoring true (spoken) tragedy, in order to experiment with tragedies in music. In 1699 he abandoned the fabulous world of the pastoral in favour of historical subjects for his new French-inspired libretto *Faramondo*:[42]

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[39] 'se non si possono i Drammi far utili alle ben regolate Città, almen si facciano non dannosi; e proccurisi, che sia sano, ed onesto quel diletto, che da loro s'aspetta.' Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Della perfetta posia italiana* (1706). Cfr. Piero Weiss' important study, from which this quotation from Muratori is taken: 'Teorie drammatiche e "infranciosamento": Motivi della "riforma" melodrammatica nel primo Settecento', in *Antonio Vivaldi: Teatro musicale, cultura e società*, ed by L. Bianconi and G. Morelli, (Florence: Olschki, 1982), p. 273-95.

[40] Giovan Mario Crescimbeni, *La bellezza della volgar poesia*. Quoted in Robert Freeman, *Opera Without Drama: Currents of Change in Italian Opera 1675-1725* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981) (Studies in Musicology, 35) p. 14.

[41] Although set to music by Vivaldi only in 1732, the first writing out of the text of Maffei's pastoral dates back to 1694. See Gianfranco Folena, '"Prima le parole e poi la musica": Scipione Maffei poeta per musica e *La fida ninfa*', in *L'italiano in Europa* (Turin: Einaudi, 1983), pp. 235-61.

[42] *Faramondo* was set to music by Carlo Francesco Pollarolo and performed in Venice at the Teatro San Giovanni Grisostomo in 1698. It was the first *dramma* that Zeno wrote for this theatre.

> Del soggetto principale di questo Drama, per tacere Mons. di Mezeray, de la Serre, Verdier, ad altri Storici Francesi, confesso d'esser singolarmente tenuto a Mons. de la Calprenede, che non solo me ne ha dato il motivo ma ancora mi ha somministrata una parte del viluppo nella Seconda Parte del suo *Faramondo*, o sia della sua Storia di Francia.[43]

Muratori soon approved of the new direction taken by Zeno and in a letter dated 20 May 1699 praised his successful attempt to satisfy, at last, both the expectations of the opera-goers and the demands of classical dramaturgy - a task previously considered impossible to achieve:

> Let us be frank, Sir. You have acquired great honor among poets with your noble dramas that please me so exceedingly, but now it appears that you have made a great step forward, penetrated even the Parnassus, so that before long you will be able to claim that crown which till now no Italian has attained. *Faramondo* is an exquisite drama, and even though it is difficult to be brief while satisfying the demands of the singers and thousands of other obstacles with which the French do not have to contend, you have fulfilled the demands of both poetry and drama. I rejoice exceedingly with you, with your epoch, and with the world. You will cultivate this rare talent and I am confident that you will be even better in the future. Sir, your manner of writing and your intellect seem to me most fortunate, with regard both to the strong feelings and to the characters you have used in *Faramondo*, even beyond those used by the French. I wish that you would undertake a drama, or rather a tragedy, without the obligation of actually staging it, for I know you would produce a splendid result. In such a work you would be able to construct with greater ease those plots which now are suffocated by the necessity of having to be brief and which, therefore, are often in part improbable. Our friend Maggi does not approve of the modern taste for so much complication of plot and is better satisfied with the purity of the ancients, of the kind often used

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[43] 'Of the principal subject of this drama, not to speak of M. de Mezeray, de la Serre, Verdier and other French historians, I confess to have held particularly to M. de la Calprenede, who not only gave me the motive, but also provided me with a part of the development in the second part of his *Faramonde*, or his *History of France*'. Apostolo Zeno, *Faramondo* (Venice, 1697), *Avviso al lettore*. English translation by Saunders, *The Repertoire of a Venetian Opera House*, p. 96. Zeno was referring to historian François Eudes, sieur de Mézeray (1610-1683), who wrote an *Histoire de France depuis Pharamond jusqu'au règne de Louis le Juste*, 3 vols (Paris 1643-51); Jean Puget de La Serre (1600-1665), the author of many novels and histories (*Inventaire général de l'Histoire de France*); Verdier, *Abbrégé de l'Histoire de France jusques à Louis XIV* (Lyon, 1680); and Gautier de Costes, sieur de La Calprenède (c.1610-1663), who wrote the prose romance *Faramonde ou l'Histoire de France* (1661-3). His novels were extremely popular and inspired the plots of many dramas, most notably Thomas Corneille's *Timocrate*.

> by Corneille - I specify Peter because the other (Thomas) usually proceeds differently. I do not altogether agree with this opinion, since the construction of an involved plot in a verisimilar manner is undoubtedly worthy of greater praise. And this one certainly owes to *Faramondo*, for the gift of which I send you, Sir, a thousand thanks for having pleased me so extraordinarily.[44]

The number of adaptations of French tragedies and tragicomedies for *dramma per musica* increased tremendously during the eighteenth century.[45] The *avviso al lettore* written by Zeno for his *Venceslao* of 1703 shows that by the beginning of the new century the use of French classical sources as models for *dramma per musica* had become more common and was no longer some new fancy:

> Lo stesso argomento ch'io tratto verso la metà del secolo scorso fu trattato da M. ROTROU, i cui Drammatici componimenti gli acquistarono su' Teatri Francesi non poca riputazione, primachè PIER CORNELIO, il gran TRAGICO della Francia, innalzasse questa spezie di Poema a qual più alto punto di perfezione, e di gloria a cui potesse arrivare. Questa *Tragicommedia* fu poesia elegantemente trasportata nella nostra favella da nobilissimo e dottissimo Cavaliere, al cui modestia avrà di certo compiacimento ch'io non ne pubblichi il Nome, al più alto segno di ammirazione e di ossequio da me riverito. La Rappresentazione che dipoi se ne fece diede a conoscere che non è si guasto [in] Italia, come alcuni si sognano quèl gusto che tanto di là da' monti si onora. Ciò che del mio vi abbia aggiunto, e ciò che del suo ne abbia tratto, ne sarà facile agli studiosi il rincontro, con sicurezza che all'Esemplare daranno le lode, se all'Imitazione ricuseranno il compatimento.[46]

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[44] Letter from Muratori to Zeno dated 20 May 1699, translated by Freeman, *Opera Without Drama*, p. 23.

[45] See Appendix 4 for a list of *drammi per musica* modelled on French and Italian dramas.

[46] 'The same argument that I treat, towards the middle of the past century was treated by M. Rotrou whose dramatic compositions acquired for him no small reputation on the French stage before Pierre Corneille, the great tragedian of France, raised this species of poem to the highest point of perfection and glory that it could reach. This tragicomedy was later elegantly transported into our tongue by a most noble and learned knight, whose modesty would certainly be pleased that I do not publish his name, as the highest sign of admiration and obsequy revered by me. The presentation that was then made of this work made known that that better taste that is so honored on the other side of the mountains is not as ruined in Italy as some imagine. That which of my own I have added to it, and that which I took from his, will be easy for the studious to perceive, with assurance that they will give praise to the exemplar, if they are pleased with the imitation'. English translation by Saunders, *The Repertoire of a Venetian Opera House*, p. 96.

As for prose and verse translations, Pierre and Thomas Corneille's tragedies were the most popular models for *drammi per musica*. Pierre Corneille's *Nicomède* provided the model for Zeno's Venetian *Pirro* in 1705; in the same year, Thomas Corneille's *Antiochus* was used by Zeno and his collaborator Pariati for *Antioco*, and in 1707, by Salvi for his Florentine *Stratonica*. Zeno and Pariati also used *Maximian* for *Costantino* in 1710. One of the most popular subjects was Pierre Corneille's *Héraclius*, which served as a model for *I veri amici* of 1713. This libretto, attributed to Francesco Silvani and Domenico Lalli, also circulated under the title of *Candace* and *Evergete*. Bernardoni's *Eraclio* (1711) was based on the same tragedy. Similarly popular was Pradon's *Tamerlan ou la Morte de Bajazet*, which was used by both Salvi and Piovene for their libretti *Il Gran Tamerlano* of 1706 and *Tamerlano* of 1710 respectively. The latter libretto was to serve Handel for his Royal Academy opera *Tamerlano* of 1724.

Particularly intriguing is the case of Pariati's *dramma per musica Sesostri*. Based on Lagrange-Chancel's tragedy *Amasis, roi d'Egypte*, *Sesostri* shares its subject with the most popular Italian spoken tragedy of the time, Maffei's *Merope* (1713) and Zeno's homonymous *dramma per musica* (1712). Following the Venetian production with music by Francesco Gasparini in 1710,[47] it was transformed into a prose *tragedia di lieto fine* by Pariati and successfully performed in 1713 and 1714 by the companies of Bonaventura Navesi and Riccoboni before being printed in 1716.[48] Riccoboni, an old friend of Pariati who had contributed much to the success of Maffei's *Merope*,[49] reworked the *dramma per musica* and, using a large part of the original of 1710, created his own tragedy - this time in verse - which was published in Venice in 1715.[50] In the

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[47] *Sesostri Re di Egitto* (Venice, 1709 [1709 m.v. =1710]). In 1717 the opera was revised by Pariati for Vienna and re-set to music by Francesco Conti: *Sesostri Re di Egitto* (Vienna, 1717).
[48] *Sesostri, Tragedia di lieto fine* (Venice, 1716). In the same year, another *dramma per musica* on the same subject appeared on the Venetian stage: Domenico Lalli's *L'amor di figlio non conosciuto*, performed at the Teatro Sant'Angelo with music by Tommaso Albinoni. On Pariati's *Sesostri* see Giovanna Gronda (ed.), *La carriera di un librettista: Pietro Pariati da Reggio di Lombardia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990), p. 256-60.
[49] See Chapter 4, 'Italian Tragedy and *Dramma per Musica*'.
[50] *Il Sesostri, tragedia* (Venice, 1715).

letter to Pariati and Note to the reader prefixed to the text, Riccoboni referred to the process of transforming a *dramma per musica* into a spoken tragedy. As far as I am aware, the practice of adapting opera texts for spoken theatre has never been investigated by musicologists. Riccoboni's introduction provides a rare glimpse of the procedures of this uncommon process and, therefore, deserves quotation:

> Dopo il dono, che già due anni, o Illustriss. Sig. mi avete voi fatto del bellissimo originale del vostro Sesostri, acciò in prosa il trascrivessi per uso della nostra scena, e che trascurando io, temendo giustamente della mia insufficienza, avete fatto poi voi alle fervorose istanze di persona a cui non avete potuto contradire: egli è stato qui recitato con sommo applauso; dal che n'è avvenuto, che sono stato io stimolato da ogni grado di persona a tentare d'averne copia per recitarlo. Ho creduto poter servire ognuno con la speranza, che uscisse alle stampe, della quale poi defraudato, ho preso il vostro donatomi originale, e come cosa, in un certo modo, di mia giurisdizione l'ho trascritto: ed in verso l'ho fatto, e non in prosa, non per altro, se non perché tutto pessimo non riuscisse scrivendolo tutto del mio, per lo che servito mi sono di tutti quei versi del vostro drama, che ho potuto nella qual parte almeno ottimo è per rimanere. Sapete chi sono, e quanto vaglia; onde sapete ancora con qual occhio dovete guardare i versi che sono miei [...]
>
> Oltre quello che nella precedente protesta ho detto, aggiungo ancora, che per quei versi che sono miei, e che ho dovuto accrescere al dramma per impinguarlo, come era necessario, te ne addimando compatimento, e sappi che non sono che semplice comico, e non comico poeta, e che scrivendo sono mosso dalla diligenza della mia professione, e non della virtù (di cui sono affatto privo) ne da cieca credenza d'essere quello che non sono [...][51]

In his quest for a new (written) repertory that might replace the improvisatory practice of *commedia dell'arte*, Riccoboni turned to opera libretti because these were

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[51] 'After the gift, two years ago, of the beautiful original [libretto] of your *Sesostri*, given to me in order that I might transpose it into a prose drama, I did not, for fear of my inability, attempt the task. In order to accomplish the request of a person whom you could not disobey, you have achieved this yourself. It has been performed here [in Venice] to great acclaim, and this has stimulated me to obtain a copy so that I may myself perform it. I was hoping that it might appear in print, but as this did not happen, I took your original [libretto] and transposed it into verse, rather than prose, so that I could take full advantage of your original text [...]'.
'In addition to what I have just said, I would like to ask for mercy for those verses of mine that I had to add to the drama so as to fatten it up: you know that I am merely an actor and not a poet-actor, and I write out of the necessity of my profession and not out of virtue (of which I am totally lacking) or by the false belief of being what I am not [...].' *Il Sesostri*, tragedia (Venice: Gio. B. Murari, 1715), Letter to Pietro Pariati and Note to the reader.

the only contemporary theatrical texts that were entirely written out and created with the intention of being performed. The libretti chosen by Riccoboni showed signs of the new classicist taste but, unlike the old Italian tragedies which were also performed by his company at that time, combined these new traits with the theatrical experience inherited from the tradition of *commedia dell'arte*: *dramma per musica* acted as a mediator between the important tradition of *commedia dell'arte* and classicist drama. The numerous *drammi per musica* modelled on French dramas performed a similar mediatory function between French culture and Italian. These *drammi*, like the numerous contemporary prose and verse translations, contributed widely to the knowledge and spread of French drama in Italy. A general reassessment of the place of *dramma per musica* in Italian culture and an evaluation of its influence on the development of the national theatre would therefore appear to be highly desirable. Before, however, attempting even a partial refutation of the common belief that libretti were created largely by 'borrowing' or 'pillaging' from theatre repertoires, it is necessary to further our understanding of *dramma per musica* itself and assess the nature and extent of the influence that French classical theatre exercised on the development of the genre.

In the ensuing chapters I shall discuss in detail the impact and weight of two very diverse French tragedies on two of the most popular *drammi* of the period - *Astianatte* (1701) and *Amor tirannico* (1710). These circulated throughout Italy and were set to music by all major Italian composers. Before long, both would be brought to London and produced at the King's Theatre for the Royal Academy of Music. The former would be set to music by Handel's popular rival Giovanni Bononcini and the latter, as *Radamisto*, by Handel himself.

Chapter 6

Rhetorical Strategies and Tears in *Astianatte*

Antonio Salvi (1664-1724), poet and physician at the court of Prince Ferdinando de' Medici, wrote more than twenty *drammi per musica* between 1694 and 1724.[1] *Astianatte* was his second libretto after the *La forza compassionevole* of 1694 and was written in 1701 for the theatre of the villa di Pratolino - the summer residence of the court. The music, now lost, was by Giovanni Antonio Perti with additional aria texts by Pietro Bernardoni.[2]

Fifteen years after its first performance, the libretto was staged again in Florence and from then on it started to circulate with great success; more than forty productions are documented throughout the eighteenth century, some under the title of *Andromaca*.[3] Settings include those by Pietro Torri (Munich, 1716), Antonio Bononcini (Venice, 1718), Francesco Gasparini (Rome, 1719 and Milan, 1722),[4] Leonardo Vinci (Naples, 1725) and by Giovanni Bononcini (London, 1727).[5] The subject had been used before by older librettists; Aurelio Aureli treated it twice, for the Venetian stage in 1661

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[1] The most complete account of Salvi's dramatic output is given by Francesco Giuntini, *I drammi per musica di Antonio Salvi: Aspetti della 'riforma' del libretto nel primo Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994).

[2] Robert L. and Norma Weaver, in *A Chronology of Music in the Florentine Theatre 1590-1750* (Detroit, 1978) (Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography, vol. 38), support the attribution to Perti and Bernardoni by quoting from two letters, one of 13 June 1705 from Bernardoni to Ferdinando (I-Fas Med 5903,c.152), and the other from F.A. Pistocchi to Perti dated 12 August 1702.

[3] Antonio Sartori, *I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800*, 6 vols (Cuneo: Bertola & Locatelli, 1993), points out the presence of a libretto at I-Rsc for a 1702 revival of *Astianatte* at Pratolino, but Weaver does not report on any revival of the opera before 1716.

[4] The manuscript score for the 1722 Milan production, an autograph of Francesco Gasparini, has been identified and thoroughly discussed by Reinhard Strohm, in 'An opera autograph of Francesco Gasparini?', in *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 106-21 ('Ein Opernautograph von Francesco Gasparini?', *Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1978), pp. 205-23).

[5] On Bononcini's *Astianatte* cfr. Hans Dieter Clausen, 'Händel's *Admeto* und Bononcini's *Astianatte*: Antike Tragödie an der Royal Academy of Music', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 6 (1996), 143-70.

as *Gli amori infruttuosi di Pirro*, and for Wolfenbüttel in 1686 as *Ermione raquistata*. He loosely followed Euripides' *Andromache* and produced a libretto that responded to the taste of the time for complex plots full of mistaken identities and disguises.

By contrast, Salvi's treatment of the subject was new and ahead of its time. Compared to the libretti of his contemporaries, the libretto stood out for simplicity of plot, which focused on the conflicts between the characters. Salvi modelled his *dramma per musica* on Jean Racine's well-known *Andromaque* of 1667. *Astianatte* is the first of a series of French-based libretti written by Salvi between 1701 and 1715, most probably under the direct influence of Prince Ferdinando - the son of Cosimo III and the French Princess Marguerite-Louise d'Orléans, niece of Louis XIV - who died in 1713.

As far as I am aware, this is one of the first Italian libretto adaptations from Racine in Italy[6] and possibly the first example in which the influence of the great dramatist could be termed as 'formative'. Racine's influence was not limited to the treatment of the subject, but extended to the ethos and pathos of the characters, to the theatrical strategies employed and the effects pursued, as well as to formal aspects that were common to most classical tragedies such as the *liaison des scènes*.

Among all Racine's tragedies, *Andromaque* has perhaps the most perfect intrigue.[7] The Trojan war has just ended. Pyrrhus is engaged to Hermione, Hélène's daughter, but is in fact in love with his prisoner of war Andromaque (Hector's widow). Andromaque strongly rejects Pyrrhus, the destroyer of her people. Hermione, outraged by Pyrrhus' behaviour, appeals to the Greeks, who send Oreste (in love with Hermione) as Greek ambassador to claim the little son of Hector and Andromaque, Astyanax. As a consequence of Oreste's request, all the characters face painstaking dilemmas that make them unable to act: Andromaque has to choose between marrying her destroyer or

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[6] The earliest example could be Domenico David's *L'amante eroe* (Venice, 1691) based on *Alexandre le Grand* and Boyer's *Porus*. See Chapter 5, 'French Tragedy in the Italian Manner: Spoken Translations and Musical Adaptations'.

[7] Cfr. Anne Ubersfeld, 'Une intrigue parfaite', Introduction to Racine's *Andromaque* (Paris: Editions Sociales, 1961).

letting her son die; Pyrrhus has to decide whether to marry Hermione or Andromaque (and accept all the consequences); Hermione has to choose whether to yield to Pyrrhus' will or have him killed, and Oreste, summoned by Hermione, whether to kill Pyrrhus and gain both Hermione and Astyanax or return to Greece alone. Unlike the other characters, who could actually avoid the collapse into tragedy by a simple gesture of renunciation, Andromaque is trapped in a conflict that can be defined as truly tragic as it does not allow for any escape route. What makes the intrigue so tight is the fact that the dilemmas of the other characters are subordinate to that of Andromaque. All the characters can but wait for Andromaque's final decision in order to make their own, and her inability to act, her hesitations and second thoughts, deeply affect the entire drama. Roland Barthes' structuralist analysis of Racine's tragedies has recognised that all the characters, understood as figures in a constellation, are bound together by a 'rapport d'autorité'.[8] The equation that A has power over B, A loves B, who does not love A, which summarises the forces that bind the figures together, appears indeed particularly convincing in the case of *Andromaque*.

Andromaque, staged in 1667, first in the Queen's apartments before the court and then at the Hotel de Bourgogne, met with extraordinary success and was soon considered one of the greatest events in French theatre history, comparable to the appearance of *Le Cid* thirty years earlier. *Andromaque* was Racine's third tragedy and followed the clamorous failure of *La Thébaïde* (1664) and the success of *Alexandre le Grand* (1665). The opposite experiences of *La Thébaïde*, a tragedy that expressed with sombre colours the horrors of war and bloodshed, tyranny and power, the sacrifice of innocence and the injustice of the Gods, and of *Alexandre*, which represented the glorification of monarchy and the success of the young lover and magnanimous hero, seemed to find a synthesis in *Andromaque*. In a world dominated by violence,

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[8] Roland Barthes, *Sur Racine* (Paris: Club Français du Livre, 1960), Engl.trans. by Richard Howard (1964, R Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992).

degeneration, selfishness and deceit, Andromaque's moral integrity and inability to accept life stands out.

All Racinian heroes, however, show signs of a gradual deviation from the traditional heroic values of strength, generosity and the ability to act. Racine himself had replied to possible attacks against the violent nature of Pyrrhus with words that place him closer to the Corneille of the 1660s:

> Pyrrhus n'avait pas lu nos romans, il était violent de son naturel, et tout les héros ne sont pas faits pour être des Céladons.[9]

Pyrrhus is, in fact, a typical Racinian monarch: a cruel tyrant.

Racine's linear scheme (Oreste loves Hermione, who loves Pyrrhus, who loves Andromaque, who loves Hector, who is dead) is retained largely unaltered in Salvi's *dramma per musica*. Salvi follows Racine closely until halfway through Act II, but then concludes this act by staging the events which take place in the temple, events which in Racine are narrated by Cléone and Oreste (V,ii-iii). He enriches the intrigue by adding new episodes and peripeteias, especially in the newly written Act III,[10] and changes Racine's ending completely: in *Andromaque* Oreste kills Pyrrhus and, following Hermione's suicide, becomes insane, while in *Astianatte* Pirro survives Oreste's murder attempt, gains Andromaca's love and forgives Oreste, who finally marries Ermione.

Although in simplified manner, internal conflicts and dilemmas remain the core and propulsive motives of the drama; as in Racine, they give way to a tight succession of turns of fortune and gather momentum in the so-called *scene di forza*. One of these, the verbal encounter between Pirro and Andromaca in II, vii, which leads to Andromaca's

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[9] Jean Racine, *Première préface* to *Andromaque*, in *OEuvres complètes*, ed by L. Estang (Paris: Seuil, 1962), p. 104.

[10] Reinhard Strohm has drawn attention to the close link between stage-sets and changes in the plot in his study of Salvi's *Amore e maestà*, '*Tragédie* into "Dramma per musica"' III and IV, *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* XI-XII (1990-1991), pp. 11-25; 47-75.

extreme decision to commit suicide in II, xiii, will be subject to closer analysis later in this chapter.

Further modifications made by Salvi to Racine's model include a reduction in the number of *dramatis personae*: Cléone and Céphise, the two confidants, disappear and some of their dramaturgical duties are carried out by Creonte (Phoenix in Racine). Salvi also adds the mute presence of the little Astianatte, an essential tool for Salvi's strategy of tears.[11] The librettist was almost certainly adapting the list of characters to the cast available to him. This usually comprised seven or eight singers, hierarchically organised as far as stage appearances and distribution of arias were concerned. The elimination of secondary characters and the re-organisation of the dramatic weight of the remaining parts was indeed common practice among those engaged in adaptations of spoken dramas for the operatic stage. Salvi himself had made reference to this practice, as well as to other theatrical conventions of the time, in the *Avviso al lettore* prefixed to his *Amore e maestà*, a libretto modelled on Thomas Corneille's *Le Comte d'Essex*:

> Il soggetto è l'istesso che già espose sulle scene di Francia il famoso Tommaso Cornelio sotto il nome del *Conte d'Essex*, ma dovendo questa [tragedia] servire alla musica, alla compagnia ed al teatro italiano, m'è convenuto fingere la scena in Persia, scemare il numero degli attori, variar lo scenario, far comparire varie azioni ed alterarla molto dal suo originale. Ho però conservato i caratteri de' principali personaggi e resa la catastrofe più funesta e più spessi gl'incidenti, conforme puoi riscontrare alla lettura dell'uno e dell'altro dramma.[12]

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[11] Cfr. Chapter 1, 'Rhetoric and Poetics as Cultural Background of *Dramma per Musica*'.

[12] Quoted after Giuntini, *I drammi per musica di Antonio Salvi*, p. 34. 'The subject is the same as has been presented on the French stage by the famous Thomas Corneille, under the title of the Count of Essex; but since the tragedy has to serve the music, the cast, and the Italian stage, I rather decided to set the scene in Persia, diminish the number of roles, vary the stage-sets, introduce varied actions, and greatly change the piece with respect to the original. I have, however, preserved the characters of the principal roles, made the catastrophe more fatal and tightened the succession of events [...]'. Trans. by Reinhard Strohm, '*Tragédie* into "Dramma per musica"' IV, *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 12 (1991), pp. 47. This preface was used by Strohm as a guide for his investigation of the supposed boundaries between the two genres of opera libretto and drama through the comparative study of Salvi's libretto *Amore e maestà* and its French model, '*Tragédie* into "Dramma per musica"' III and IV.

As happened in the case of the main roles in *Amore e maestà*, the ethos of the *dramatis personae* in Astianatte remained substantially unchanged. Even the simplifications and necessary alterations made in order to accommodate the happy ending of *Astianatte* do not, in my opinion, constitute a major departure from the model. The most obvious change concerns the unyielding Andromaca, whom Salvi finally makes fall in love with Pirro. But the French Andromaque had already spoken of Pyrrhus as 'violent mais sincère' and in the 1668 and 1673 versions of III,iii, later suppressed, we hear her say:

> *Andromaque*
> [...]
> Je ne m'attendais pas que le ciel en colère
> Pût, sans perdre mon fils, accroître ma misère,
> Et gardât à mes yeux quelque spectacle encor
> Qui fît couler mes yeux pour un autre qu'Hector
> Vous avez trouvé seule une sanglante voie
> De suspendre en mon coeur le souvenir de Troie.
> Plus barbare aujourd'hui qu'Achille et que son fils,
> Vous me faites pleurer mes plus grands ennemis;
> Et ce que n'avait pu promesse ni menace,
> Pyrrhus de mon Hector semble avoir pris la place.[13]

These words, together with other passages, made critics suspect that even the Racinian Andromaque could have loved Pyrrhus if only she could have forgotten the past.

Important expansions of the plot of the original *Andromaque* were linked to the fact that, while Racine strictly observed the unity of place by setting the entire action *dans une salle du palais de Pyrrhus*, Salvi complied with the customs of the *teatro italiano* which called for a certain number of stage-set changes.[14] He still observes the unity of place, however, by keeping the action within the walls of the city of Butroto and

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[13] Jean Racine, *Andromaque*, ed. by A. Ubersfeld (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1961), p. 162n.
[14] The evidence brought forward in Chapter 5, 'French Tragedy in the Italian Manner: Spoken Translations and Musical Adaptations', confirms that stage-set changes were not a feature pertaining to opera alone, but to the *teatro italiano* in general.

creates autonomous stage units to please the eye and keep the audience interested in what is to follow. In 1715, Pier Jacopo Martello was to make specific reference to stage scenery as an important element of entertainment, which was essential to the success of an opera:

> Nell'ingresso della tua favola avverti che il teatro si vegga guernito di personaggi con qualche apparenza, che ecciti l'aspettazione e la maraviglia. Scordati i modesti principî della tragedia e dell'epopeia; e piantati ben in mente che quando si alza il sipario, il popolo si raffredda se vede due personaggi parlar seriamente de' loro interessi. Vi vuole copia, se non di recitanti, almen di comparse. Uno sbarco, una moresca, uno spettacolo di lottatori, o di altra simil cosa, fanno inarcar le ciglia a' tuoi spettatori, e benedicono quell'argento che hanno speso alla porta per sollazzarsi.[15]

One example is found in *Astianatte*'s opening scene: a debarkation scene set in Butroto's harbour shows Oreste landing, surrounded by supernumeraries, while he is singing his first aria in which he addresses the sea-shore ('Belle rive').[16] Salvi does not follow Racine and conforms to Martello's advice to forget 'the modest principles of tragedy' and not to show 'two characters discoursing gravely about their private affairs'.

Martello's disregard for the principles of tragedy is deceptive;[17] his discussion of how the three acts should be constructed in fact largely agrees with most discussions of

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[15] Pier Jacopo Martello, *Della tragedia antica e moderna. Sessione quinta* (Rome, 1715), in *Pier Jacopo Martello: Scritti critici e satirici*, ed. by H.S. Noce (Bari: Laterza, 1963), p. 283. 'At the opening of your fable, see to it that the stage is furnished with characters involved in some event of consequence arousing expectation and wonder. Forget the modest principles of tragedy and epic; and imprint it upon your mind that, at the rise of the curtain, the public will grow cool if it is shown two characters discoursing gravely about their private affairs. You need an abundance, if not of characters, then of supernumeraries. A debarkation, a moresca, an exhibition of fighters or other such thing will make your spectators stare, and they will bless the money they left at the door.' Engl.trans. by Piero Weiss, 'Pier Jacopo Martello on Opera (1715): An Annotated Translation', *Musical Quarterly* 66 (1980), p. 391.

[16] Giuntini, *I drammi per musica di Antonio Salvi*, has traced further examples of debarkation scenes in Salvi's *La forza compassionevole* (I,v), *Publio Cornelio Scipione* (III,i), *Le Amazoni vinte da Ercole* (I,iv) and *Il pazzo per politica* (I,i).

[17] Martello's classicism is discussed in Chapter 1.

classical dramaturgy at the time, both in Italy and France. Regarding the first act, Martello writes:

> Nell'atto primo sarà tua cura il preparar gli ascoltanti all'intreccio, dando loro la necessaria notizia degli eroi che battono il palco, degli antefatti opportuni alla cognizione, sia della favola sia della storia, e facendo la prima mostra de' caratteri, almeno de' principali, che dovranno intervenire all'azione.[18]

One can hardly fail to recognise the main attributes of classical *Exposition* in this passage.[19] As we shall see, both Racine and Salvi perfectly comply with the demands of classical dramaturgy, even when the latter appears to diverge from his model.

The following pages are devoted to a closer study of Salvi's process of adaptation of two key moments in Racine's tragedy: Oreste's embassy, which concludes the introduction and initiates the chain of conflicts and dilemmas; and the climax of Pirro's and Andromaca's conflictual relationship, which leads to Pirro's ultimatum and Andromaca's decision to commit suicide. These two groups of scenes constitute a convenient point of observation since Salvi, while adhering very closely to his model, made certain important departures from it. His alterations, which originate from Racine's text, are rhetorical in nature and can ultimately be considered 'strategic', as they concern the tools that the librettist employed towards the achievement of certain effects. Whether the nature of the effects pursued by the librettist was purely theatrical rather than musical - as Reinhard Strohm suggested in the case of *Amore e maestà*[20] - will emerge from the ensuing discussion.

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[18] Martello, *Della tragedia antica e moderna*, p. 283. 'In the first act, it shall be your task to prepare the audience for the plot by giving them the necessary information concerning the Heroes on the stage and such antecedents as may be essential to an understanding of the fable or history; here too, you will first exhibit the characters, at least the principal ones, who are to take part in the action' (Weiss, 'Pier Jacopo Martello on Opera', p. 391).

[19] For a complete discussion of French classical dramaturgy see Jaques Scherer, *La dramaturgie classique en France* (Paris: Nizet, 1950).

[20] Strohm, *'Tragédie* into "Dramma per musica"' (Part four).

In both Racine and Salvi, the *exposition* is concluded by Oreste's embassy. To the straightforward structure designed by Racine, in which Oreste's first meeting with Pylade is immediately followed by the embassy, Salvi substituted a more varied sequence of scenes, in which Andromaca and her little son Astianatte make their first appearance on stage:

Table 6.1 *Astianatte*. Scenes and sequence of events (a)

Racine	**Salvi 1701**	**Salvi 1722**[21]
I,i	I,i-ii-iii	I,i
Dialogue between	Oreste's arrival.	Pilade consoles
Oreste and Pylade	Dialogue between	Ermione
	Oreste and Pilade	
	I,iv	I,ii
	Andromaca crying	Ermione and Andromaca
	alone	console each other
	I,v	I,iii
	Andromaca rejects	Andromaca rejects
	Pirro	Pirro
	I,vi	I,iv
	Pirro alone	Andromaca alone
	I,vii	I,v-vi
	Creonte announces	Cleone announces
	Oreste	Oreste
I,ii	I,viii	I,vii
Embassy	Embassy	Embassy

In Racine, the dialogue between Oreste and Pylade contains a full exposition of the antecedents. The audience is informed about Andromaque's tragic situation, the contrasting forces of pride and love that drive Ermione, Oreste's deeply conflictual status of ambassador and lover and Pyrrhus' desire for the captive Andromaca: a very unstable situation, on the one hand conducive to high points of pathos and, on the other,

[21] The following table includes the 1722 production, as Gasparini's 1722 setting [GB-Lbl (Add.14,233)] will be discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

susceptible to continual turns of fortune that heavily depend on the characters' verbal actions.[22] The first of these to carry important consequences is Oreste's embassy.

Salvi reduces Racine's *récit*. Even though Oreste's and Pilade's recitative still covers the whole *antefatto*, it does not dwell on Andromaca, as she is due to appear on stage in the following scene. Here Salvi presents Andromaca's highly pathetic situation from the start by introducing the *prima donna* at the beginning of the opera.[23] By 1722 the shift from a narrated to a fully staged exposition was to be completed. There, the two *prime donne*, Antonia Maria Laurenti and Angela Augusti in the roles of Ermione and Andromaca respectively (now each having the same number of arias),[24] were to take care of the opening scenes, this time disregarding Martello's recommendations.

Compared to the way in which Piovene dealt with Torelli's narrations in *Polidoro*, Salvi's choice of showing Andromaca's ordeal (I,iv-v) - only implied in the original exposition - seems to be guided by a different principle.[25] While Piovene staged narrated actions and events in order to give dynamism to an otherwise static drama, Salvi tries, successfully, to transmit the poetic power of Racine's language through different media (and sometimes in different places within the drama).

Andromaca is first introduced together with Astianatte (I,iv). The sight of Andromaca cradling her young son and the sound of her pathetic aria 'Mentre chiude il dolce oblio' which opens the scene here achieve the same objective that Racine was to pursue at a later stage in his drama: to provide Andromaca with a pathetic *exordium* that would immediately gain sympathy for her case.[26] In the same way, by choosing a *Sala*

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[22] Cfr. Chapter 1, 'Rhetoric and Poetics as Cultural Background of *Dramma per Musica*'.
[23] Andromaca sings 14 arias, Ermione 9 plus a duet with Oreste, Oreste 7, Pirro 6, Pilade 5 arias. Creonte sings none.
[24] Gasparini's pupil Giovanni Ossi and the famous male soprano Giacinto Fontana sung the roles of Andromaca and Ermione in the Rome production of 1719. It is possible that the role of Ermione was expanded by Gasparini because of Fontana's involvement.
[25] Piovene's libretto is discussed in Chapter 4, 'Italian Tragedy and *Dramma per Musica*'.
[26] Cfr. Andromaque's first lines in Racine I,iv and the numerous references to *larmes* throughout the entire scene:

> Je passais jusqu'aux lieux où l'on garde mon fils
> Puisqu'une fois le jour vous souffrez que je voie

con arazzi, dove sono rappresentate l'imprese di Achille e di Pirro nella guerra di Troia, e trono for the setting of I,iv-xiii, Salvi expresses what Racine communicates through poetry, in particular through the use of the figure of hypotyposis: the display of images from the Trojan war in the tapestry brings before the audience the horrendous past that, in Racine's tragedy, has such a destructive power over the present and totally dominates Andromaque's will. Most of the references to the past were to be eliminated in later productions of *Astianatte* (while the sentimentality of the mother-son relationship was augmented).

By the end of the exposition, the audience is made fully aware of the real reasons behind Oreste's mission and Pyrrhus' true intentions; Pylade had even advised Oreste on the rhetorical means to be employed in his embassy:

> Achevez, seigneur, votre ambassade.
> Vous attendez le roi: parlez, et lui montrez
> Contre le fils d'Hector tous les Grecs conjurés.
> Loin de leur accorder ce fils de sa maîtresse,
> Leur haine ne fera qu'irriter sa tendresse.
> Plus on les veut brouiller, plus on va les unir.
> Pressez: demandez tout, pour ne rien obtenir.
> Il vient.[27]

This channels the audience's interest towards Oreste's persuasive strategies and, in particular, towards both the outcome of Oreste's embassy and the strength of his arguments.

Let us then take a closer look at Oreste's strategies in order to ascertain if and how a scene heavily reliant on the subtle use of words was to keep its efficacy when transferred to a genre that had to rely on shorter texts and arias.

> Le seul bien qui me reste et d'Hector et de Troie,
> J'allais, seigneur, pleurer un moment avec lui:
> Je ne l'ai point encore embrassé d'aujourd'hui!

[27] Racine, *Andromaque*, I,i:134-41 (Paris: Seuil, 1962), p. 106.

Salvi manages to follow Racine very closely, even quoting him on a number of occasions. Table 6.2 summarises the arguments and counter-arguments (*inventio*) brought forward by Oreste and Pirro respectively and, at the same time, the order in which they are presented (*dispositio*):[28]

[28] I have relied on Michael Howcroft's rhetorical analysis of Racine's I,ii in *Word as Action: Racine, Rhetoric, and Theatrical Language* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 83-91.

Table 6.2 *Inventio* and *Dispositio* in Oreste's embassy

Racine	**Salvi 1701 & 1722**
Oreste	***Oreste***
<u>*exordium*</u>(143-150)	<u>*exordium*</u>(1-5)
1)Oreste flatters Pyrrhus by defining him as 'son of Achille' (*locus definitionis*)	1)Oreste flatters Pirro... (cit.Racine)
2)Oreste makes reference to Pyrrhus's glorious past	2) (omitted)
	Pirro
	does not allow Oreste to continue and presses for the *narratio*(6-7)
	Oreste
<u>*narratio*</u>(151-4)	<u>*narratio*</u>(8-12)
Oreste's request	Oreste's request
<u>*confirmatio*</u>(155-168)	<u>*confirmatio*</u>(13-18)
1)Astyanax, although innocent, is associated with his father's deeds (*locus adiunctorum*)(155-60)	1) (included in the *narratio*)
2)Astyanax could be a danger for the future. [Inductive reasoning: like father, like son (*locus consequentium*)](161-4)	2)Astianatte could be a danger...
3)Pyrrhus should be afraid (165-8)	3) (included in the *narratio*)
<u>*peroratio*</u>(169-172)	<u>*peroratio*</u>(19-21)
1)Oreste confirms his request	1)Oreste confirms his request
2)Oreste recapitulates the arguments	2)Oreste recapitulates the arguments
3)Pyrrhus should be afraid	3)excites Pirro's heroism
Pyrrhus	***Pirro***
<u>*exordium*</u>(173-80)	<u>*exordium*</u>(22-6)
Pyrrhus shows reverence to the interest of the Greeks	Pirro shows reverence...
<u>*confirmatio*</u>(181-216)	<u>*confirmatio*</u>(27-49)
1)The Greeks have no right...	2)The fear is exaggerated
	[***Oreste***]
2)The fear is exaggerated	1)The Greeks have no right...
	[***Oreste***]
3)It would be cruel to kill Astyanax at this stage	3) (omitted)
<u>*peroratio*</u>(217-20)	<u>*peroratio*</u>(50-60)]
	<u>*refutatio*</u>
	Pirro anticipates Oreste's argument: war
1)Pyrrhus' refusal	1)Pirro's refusal
Oreste	***Oreste***
more arguments:	more arguments:
1)Greeks do have rights	1) (omitted)
2)War	2) (mentioned in the *refutatio* above)
3)Hermione(239-40)	3)Ermione(61-4)
Pyrrhus	***Pirro***
1)Pyrrhus lets Hermione go	1)Pirro lets Ermione go
2)Final refusal	2)<u>ARIA</u>: Final refusal

Salvi's changes to Racine's solid rhetorical structure are minimal and concern mainly the length of the text. Salvi intervenes not only by cutting the references to Pyrrhus' apparently good heart, but also by contracting the arguments themselves through the insertion, for example, of a *refutatio* in which Pirro anticipates Oreste's threats of war. Pirro's exit aria focuses on his response to Oreste's persuasive action: it stresses Pirro's refusal by insisting on the fundamental issue of sovereignty - a rather ironic remark considering his status as a slave to love - and marks the apparently unsuccessful outcome of Oreste's embassy:

No, no, che servire
quest'alma non sa.
Al forte mio cuore
al trono sol nato
non altri che il fato
dar legge potrà
No, no...
[*Astianatte* (1701), I,viii]

Non è gloria dell'anime grandi
soggettarsi all'altrui libertà
Un regnante che ascolta i comandi
di Regnante vassallo si fà
Non è gloria...
[*Astianatte* (1722), I,vii]

Of course both Oreste and Pirro achieve exactly what they want.

From Dene Barnett's investigations we are able to ascertain the average amount of time taken to declaim Racinian lines.[29] According to the available sources, it would be about four and a half seconds per line. The average time needed to recite scene I,ii then, would be about eight minutes. Applying similar principles to Salvi's text, more specifically Gasparini's recitative for 1722, we discover that the scene would last roughly the same time, the only difference being that the recitative and the aria would share the total amount of time equally.

What are the consequences of these changes? The scene remains essentially based on speech, and the music, both in the recitative and in the aria, can only give

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[29] Dene Barnett, 'La vitesse de la déclamation au théâtre (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)', *Dix-septième siècle* 128 (1980), pp. 319-26.

further emphasis to certain parts of the verbal message. The focus, however, seems to shift from rhetorical strategies as such to the outcome of these strategies, as well as to the figure of Pirro. In both the 1701 and 1722 versions, Pirro's aria stresses Racine's lines 'Et je n'ai donc vaincu que pour dépendre d'elle?', translated by Salvi into 'Ho forse vinto i suoi nemici a fine d'esser schiavo di lei?', and emphasises Pirro's refusal and the reasons behind it, which are certainly not based on reasoning but on royal pride. Oreste's arguments are brought forward in such a way that Pirro cannot help but understand them as a breach of his sovereignty; Oreste acts exactly as Pylade had suggested in I,i: 'Pressez: demandez tout, pour ne rien obtenir...'

Gasparini's 'Non è gloria dell'anime grandi' (substituted for 'No, no che servire') emphasises Pirro's response to Oreste's persuasive action and establishes his status as king (he had already sung an aria that qualified him as a lover) through a self-confident setting of steady minims and crotchets (Ex. 6.1). The *grandeur* associated with royal status and referred to in the text, is imitated by the wide intervals that characterise the entire aria. The central word 'libertà' is emphasised by extensive and flowing *colorature* (bb. 18-22), while the state of slavery referred to in the text ('sogettarsi all'altrui libertà') is musically rejected by both the abandonment of the complete unison (strings, bass and vocal parts) after the enunciation of the first line 'Non è gloria dell'anime grandi' and by the almost unpredictable leaps in the vocal line on a bass which foreshadows the 'libertà' *coloratura* (bb. 15-18). The emphasis on Pirro's status as king is necessary in order to complete the depiction of Pirro's ethos and highlight the ironic situation of a king who is slave to his captive.

Giuntini has underlined Salvi's general tendency towards the simplification of affections, balanced by the emphatic exaggeration of these same affections.[30] In the specific case of *Astianatte*, this process can be observed in the sequence of scenes that follows from Andromaca's cry at Ermione's feet (II,iv) to her final decision to accept

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[30] Giuntini, *I drammi per musica di Antonio Salvi*, p. 36.

Pirro's conditions and then kill herself (II,xiii). The analysis of these scenes allows us to understand Salvi's strategic modifications to Racine's original: he made them with a view to achieving highly effective peaks of pathos by exploiting the means available to him: poetry, music, stage scenery and gestures. Table 6.3 summarises the sequence of events in the group of scenes in question:

Table 6.3 *Astianatte.* Scenes and sequence of events (b)

Racine	**Salvi 1701**	**Salvi 1722**
III,iv Andromaque kneeling at Hermione's feet	II,iv Andromaca at Ermione's feet And.: 'Le mie dolenti suppliche'	II,iii Andromaca at Ermione's feet Erm.: 'Và, priega e piangi'
	II,v Ermione: 'Vanne a Pirro'	
III,v Andromaque and Céphise	II,vi Andromaca and Creonte And.: 'Pria che sposar'	II,iv Andromaca and Clearte Cl.: 'Superbetta'
III,vi Pyrrhus and Andromaque	II,vii Pirro and Andromaca Pir.: 'Vedrò'	II,v Pirro and Andromaca Pir.:'Luci spietate'
III,vii Pyrrhus and Andromaque		
III,viii Andromaque's internal conflicts	II,viii Andromaca alone And.: 'Nel cor'	II,vi Andromaca alone And.: 'Il mio sposo'
	II,ix Oreste and Pilade Pil.: 'O morto'	II,vii Oreste and Pilade Pil.: 'Fido amico'
	II,x Oreste alone Or.: 'Temi'	II,viii Oreste and Ermione Or.: 'Un guardo'
		II,ix Ermione alone Erm.: 'Io sento una pietà'
	II,xi *Gabinetto...* Andromaca alone (at Ettore's urn)	II,x [still *Giardino*] Andromaca, scene with Astianatte Clearte: 'Infelice pargoletto'
	II,xii scene with Astianatte	
IV,i Andromaque's decision	II,xiii Andromaca's decision And.: 'Per te'	II,xi Andromaca's decision And.: 'Viva ancor'

Scene III,iv represents a key moment in Racine's drama: it marks the beginning of the descent into tragedy. Hermione has just heard the good news that Pyrrhus is finally going to marry her instead of Andromaque. Jubilant, she has no desire whatsoever to stop and listen to Andromaque's plea ('Dieux! ne puis-je à ma joie abandonner mon âme!')[31] and chooses to hide behind the mask of the obedient princess. By doing so, she manages to elude the confrontation with Andromaque that could have avoided tragedy:

> Je conçois vos douleurs; mais un devoir austère,
> Quand mon père a parlé, m'ordonne de me taire.
> C'est lui qui de Pyrrhus fait agir le courroux.
> S'il faut fléchir Pyrrhus, qui le peut mieux que vous?
> Vos yeux assez longtemps ont régné sur son âme.
> Faites-le prononcer: j'y souscrirai, madame.[32]

Salvi's II,iv-v (II,iii-iv in 1722) follows Racine very closely, with about one-third of the recitative derived directly from Racine. In addition to Hermione's haughty reply, Salvi chooses the beginning and the end of Andromaque's speech:

> Où fuyez-vous, madame?
> N'est-ce pas à vos yeux un spectacle assez doux
> Que la veuve d'Hector pleurant à vos genoux?
> [...]
> Vous pouvez sur Pyrrhus ce que j'ai pu sur lui.
> Que craint-on d'un enfant qui survit à sa perte?
> Laissez-moi le cacher en quelque île déserte;
> Sur les soins de sa mère on peut s'en assurer,
> Et mon fils avec moi n'apprendera qu'à pleurer.[33]

These parts constitute, in rhetorical terms, the *exordium* and the *peroratio*. Andromaque, kneeling at Hermione's feet, draws her arguments both from *affectus*, by expanding on her widowhood and trying to gain Hermione' sympathy through the

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[31] *Andromaque*, III,iii: 857.
[32] Id., III,iv: 881-886.
[33] Ibid.: 858-860; 876-880.

exploration of the topic of motherhood, and from *probationes*, by reminding Hermione of Hector's support for her mother during the war. In Andromaque's impassioned appeal the *narratio* is first implied and later expressed in the *peroratio*, in which she also draws on *mores* by referring to Hermione's influential status.

Salvi appears to have simplified (and strengthened) Andromaque's original rhetorical plan by placing the references to motherhood immediately after the *exordium* (the references to her widowhood are omitted) and emphasising their pathetic power with the aria 'Le mie dolenti suppliche' (cut in all later productions).[34] He uses the arguments recapitulated in Andromaque's final appeal to form his *confirmatio* and concludes with Racine's original lines. Ermione's exit aria 'Vanne a Pirro, e piangi e prega' ('Và priega, e piangi' in 1719 and 1722) emphasises Ermione's sarcastic and haughty reply - or rather non-reply - to Andromaca.

Gasparini's 1722 setting of this aria seems to provide further clues to an understanding of the drama at this point. At first, Gasparini's setting appears rather disappointing, as he supplies generally unengaging music. Yet it is exactly through this general sense of 'disengagement' that the audience is made fully aware of Ermione's lack of interest and emotional absence (Ex. 6.2). Thanks to the apparent inappropriateness (in this context) of trumpet-like music on 'trionferà' (bb. 13-15), Gasparini is able to bring to the fore Ermione's concealed happiness. Furthermore, the lack of an opening ritornello and the isolation of the opening imperative 'Và' provides support for Ermione's most appropriate gesture of disparagement. All this transpires from Racine's poetry, but would probably not emerge from Salvi's reduced text alone.[35]

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[34] I would like to thank Reinhard Strohm for allowing me to use his notes regarding the various versions of *Astianatte*, as I have been unable to see the 1716 (Florence), 1718 (Venice) and 1719 (Rome) libretti.

[35] Salvi, for example, did not retain Racine's 'Quel mépris la cruelle attache à ses refus!', the most explicit reference to Hermione's contempt for Andromaque. No mention of 'disprezzo' (or any similar such expression) is made in Salvi's text; Gasparini's musical *inventio* could have been drawn from the overall interpretation of the scene and not from single words.

A brief scene between Andromaque and her confidant precedes the important encounter between Andromaque and Pyrrhus (III, vi-vii), which opens with an almost comic game between the two (both pretend they have not seen each other), and which drives Pyrrhus to request Andromaque's consent to marriage in exchange for Astyanax's life. It is a scene of great verbal dynamism, in which the two contenders make full use of their persuasive skills and demonstrate a solid command of the strategies of rhetoric.

Again Salvi follows the rhetorical path traced by Racine, but borrows mainly from the beginning and the end of the two-scene sequence (III,vi:890-906; III,vii); in the case of Pyrrhus' final address to Andromaque, which constitutes the whole of III,vii, the librettist selects the opening and closing statements. Once again, in the process of transfer from Racine's original to Salvi's *dramma per musica*, a simplification of the subtle rhetorical framework has become inevitable. Salvi keeps almost unaltered those parts which, because of their position, receive more emphasis (and, perhaps, would be more easily recognised as Racinian); he presents the arguments in a tight,connected sequence and, at the same time, reduces their elaboration considerably.

II,viii (II, vi in 1722) begins a series of scenes, interrupted by two scenes between Oreste and Pilade, in which Andromaca is left to consider Pirro's blackmail and come to a decision. In Racine everything is concentrated into two scenes, the last of Act III and the first of Act IV; Andromaque, like many other Racinian heroes and heroines, makes her decision offstage, during the interval between the acts. In Salvi's libretto Andromaca faints at the climax of her internal conflict, and it is while she is unconscious that her husband reveals his wishes to her: she should marry Pirro in order to save Astianatte.

At the core of II,viii is the situation of conflict experienced by Andromaca. This is also expressed by the *elocutio*, through the initial oxymoron 'Cari nemici', and the continuous antitheses (Ettore/Astianatte; 'troppo virtute'/'troppo Amor'; 'tenerezza di madre'/'fe' di sposa') that amplifies (through the *loci generis* and *speciei*) the two terms

of the conflict. The aria 'Il mio sposo tradirò' (composed by Gasparini for the 1722 production) functions as the *peroratio* of Andromaca's impassioned speech:

Exordium: 'Cari nemici miei' (*definitio*)
Narratio: 'Ettore, Astianatte,/Chi di voi vincerà?'
Confirmatio: 'Dentro al mio seno/troppo virtute e troppo Amor combatte'
Exclamatio: 'Oh Dio!...'
Peroratio: aria 'Il mio sposo...'

The text of the aria recapitulates the arguments (explored through the *locus contrariorum* and expressed by the figure of antithesis) and the invocation of God already found in the recitative, while also introducing an appeal for pity for Andromaca's tragic dilemma, which compels the audience to turn their attention from the dilemma itself to Andromaca.

Gasparini writes a powerful virtuoso aria, with up to four real parts (Ex. 6.3). He seems to have drawn his musical *inventio* from at least three sources: the theme of the conflict itself, the rhetorical figure of *exclamatio* and the general sense of anxiety that emerges from the text. While the central theme of the conflict permeates the entire scene, indeed the whole drama, and is here characterised mainly by the contrapuntal texture of the aria, the *exclamatio* to God is first found in the recitative 'Oh Dio! quanto è penosa...' and further developed into a prayer: 'Dei, pietà, Cieli consiglio/chi consola il mio dolor'. The *exclamatio*, which in the recitative was marked by the downward motion of a dotted note, could be recognised in the aria in the opening dotted figure and in the downward leap on 'Dei pietà' (b. 7) that provides the basic musical idea on which the entire aria is built. Finally, Gasparini's music is able to transmit a general sense of anxiety through the continuous change of melodic direction and the syncopations in the flow of the semiquavers and through the resulting unbroken motion given by the superimposition of all the parts. Yet the composer enables the voice to emerge by joining together the viola part and solo cello in unison, and by allowing a certain degree

of rhythmic unison between the two violin parts. Gasparini also manipulates the text in order to enhance the musical expression of Andromaca as prey to despair:

(Text repetitions are given in italics and colorature in bold type)

[A] Il mio sposo tradirò
La mia prole ucciderò
Dei pietà, Cieli consiglio
chi consola il mio dolor
il mio dolor
Dei pietà
il mio sposo tradirò
Cieli consiglio
la mia prole ucciderò
pietà
consiglio
tradirò
ucciderò
chi
la mia prole
chi
il mio sposo
chi consola il mio dolor

[B] Se tradisco il mio diletto
squarcio l'alma dal mio petto
e se uccido il caro figlio
dal mio petto squarcio
dal mio petto squarcio il cor
e se uccido il caro figlio
dal mio petto squarcio il cor

The fragmentation of the A section, the sequence of poignant words such as 'pietà', 'consiglio', 'tradirò', 'ucciderò' (bb. 16-20), as well as the piercing power of that 'chi' (bb. 9, 18-20) are able to transmit, due to their textual and musical isolation, Andromaca's state of indecision.

The transfer from the conflict itself to the figure of Andromaca, from the musical imitation of rhetorical figures, such as the *exclamatio*, and of nouns, such as 'conflict', to the expression of Andromaca's emotional state, represents the real contribution of Gasparini to this scene. Salvi's text for the recitative, with its bare and tight sequence of antitheses, had already laid the ground for a development in this direction. Nonetheless, it is Gasparini's musical *inventio* and textual-musical *dispositio* in the aria that provides the means to focus on Andromaca's cry for pity. This is more important than it may seem at first, as Salvi not only built up a very unstable situation which, by leaving the audience with a question mark (what will Andromaca do?), would ensure interest in the events to come, but also aimed at the listener's emotional involvement as part of his strategy of tears.

The scene-sequence which focuses on Andromaca is now interrupted by two scenes (three in 1722), which dwell on Oreste's despair (II,ix-x). Racine concludes Act III by leaving the audience in the dark about Andromaque's final decision; Andromaca's 'consultation' with her husband's ashes takes place off-stage, during the interval between Acts III and IV. Even though Salvi follows Racine's dramaturgical plan, he chooses to show Andromaca by Ettore's cinerary urn (II,xi; II,x in 1722), without, however, showing Ettore's ghost: a seventeenth-century librettist would certainly have taken the opportunity to insert here an evocative 'ombra' scene!

Salvi's *dramma* diverges quite considerably from Racine's tragedy in the subsequent scenes. While Andromaque appears on stage at the beginning of Act IV to disclose her intentions, Andromaca is still undecided about her son's future. Why does Salvi want a scene between Andromaca and her confidant that appears to dwell once more on her conflicts? Is it simply to take advantage of the *topos* of the 'ombra' scene which, in any case, he does not develop?

Racine's IV,i is focused on Andromaque's gradual disclosure of her plan to save her son by marrying Pyrrhus and committing suicide. Andromaque intends to gain her

confidant's understanding and sympathy for what she is about to do, as she is going to ask her to take care of her child. She first provides arguments in support of her decision (*confirmatio*), then puts forth her plan (*narratio*), and finally, in a moving *peroratio*, entrusts Astyanax to Céphise:

> [...]
> Fais connaître à mon fils les héros de sa race;
> [...]
> Plutôt ce qu'ils on fait que ce qu'ils ont été;
> Parle-lui tous les jours des vertus de son père;
> Et quelquefois aussi parle-lui de sa mère.[36]

Salvi borrows the evocative power of Andromaque's imaginary farewell to Astyanax and builds the entire II,xii (II,x in 1722) on this. In fact, he exploits the pathetic effect caused by the sight of the child soon to be killed. Salvi's heroine does not direct her persuasive action towards her immediate interlocutor. The function of Creonte (Clearte in 1722) is in fact one of both measuring and scanning the pathetic growth of the scene, especially in the 1722 version, in which he even sings a *siciliana*, as well as channelling the audience's expected reactions:

> Spaventoso coraggio!
> [...]
> Qual tenerezza io sento!
> [...]
> Più resister non sò: molle di pianto
> Già mi si adombra il ciglio.
> [...]
> ARIA: 'Infelice Pargoletto'[37]

Unlike Racine, Salvi achieves pathetic effect by focusing on Astianatte, who is now on stage and interacts with his mother. Salvi's strategy is characterised by the shift

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[36] *Andromaque*, IV,i, 1102-1118.
[37] *Astianatte* (1722), II,xii.

from Andromaca's initially impassioned and almost violent outpouring of emotions to her emotional and physical annihilation (she faints). The different appellatives that Andromaca uses to address Astianatte can give us an idea of the change of register that takes place, from 'ingrato figlio' and 'crude viscere mie' to 'caro idoletto mio', 'cor del mio core' or 'anima mia'. Repetitions of key words (anaphora) also play an important role; 'vieni', 'vanne' and 'addio', together with their accompanying gestures, function as markers of a gradual increase in dramatic tension. The first 'vanne' marks the section that introduces the theme of death, while the second creates evocative underworld images (hypotyposis) that present visions of Astianatte's future: the dialogue with his father and the remembrance of his mother. Salvi's formula 'digli...' (tell him) can but remind us of Racine's 'Dis-lui...'

Andromaca's speech has gradually acquired composure and definitiveness. Gasparini's setting seems to share Salvi's view and gradually moves from an unpredictable *secco* recitative that underlines Andromaca's restlessness to the more solemn and rhythmically rounded *accompagnato* for the 'Addio' section. Andromaca has now come to accept Astianatte's imminent death and gives him her last farewell - five harrowing repetitions of 'addio' on beautiful falling progressions followed by one last upward leap - before fainting (Ex. 6.4). It would not surprise me if people from the audience stood up at this point and expressed their empathy with the victim.

At this point the Roman reviser (1719) has inserted an aria for Clearte. The 1722 reviser adds detailed stage directions which, far from being redundant, strengthen Salvi's original plan and support the insertion of Clearte's aria:

An. Addio cor del mio core; Addio mio Figlio:
Cara mia speme Addio:
Addio dolce tesoro:
Addio Figlio; tu parti, ed io qui moro.
Si abbandona svenuta sopra una Sedia
Cle. Resti nel suo dolor senza conforto
Sì cruda, ed ostinata Genitrice
Vieni vieni a morir Figlio infelice.
S'incammina, e poi torna indietro.
Ma se qui l'abbandono
Forse di lei più crudo, e fiero io sono.
Osserva Astianatte, che sta guardando la Madre
Infelice Pargoletto
In quel viso languidetto
Tu vagheggi la tua sorte!
Ti par bello il tuo periglio
In un ciglio,
Dov'è bella ancor la morte.
Infelice etc.[38]

It is difficult to believe that such a pathetic scene could have been in need of further improvement in this direction. If anything, Clearte's languid *siciliana* gives Andromaca time to hear Ettore's voice and prolongs the audience's pleasurable agony up until the moment when Andromaca wakes up with a clear mind, rushes through a dynamic recitative to express her resolution, and leaves the stage after singing an heroic aria, 'Viva ancor'.

Despite the interruptions, this long sequence of scenes focused on Andromaca can be understood as one long speech which is ultimately addressed to the audience. Salvi's and Racine's objective was clearly to move their audiences to tears. The *exordium* of this long oration introduces Andromaca as a humiliated woman, kneeling at Ermione's feet, with Ermione's lack of interest emphasising her humiliation. In both Racine and Salvi the *exordium* is followed by a *narratio* in which Andromaca's situation and the possible solutions are clearly presented in the dialogue with Céphise/Creonte.

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[38] Ibid., II,x.

There follows a *confirmatio* in which all the arguments are explored and confronted by Andromaca and Pirro. Finally, in the long *peroratio* Andromaca recapitulates the arguments and asks for compassion. This is the one point in which Salvi seems to differ most from Racine. While Racine *does* conclude with a *peroratio* which, through Andromaque's tenderness and humility, distresses Céphise ('Hélas!') and moves the audience, the librettist uses the *peroratio* as the main body of his oration and concludes with the dynamic and optimistic push forward of Andromaca's heroic aria.

To conclude, Salvi did not transform a drama of words into a drama of notes, but instead created a work that, although still largely reliant on words, was different from Racine's spoken tragedy. Throughout his libretto, Salvi revealed a consciousness of the power of visual effect and, as we have seen, used stage scenery, actors' presence and gestures as tools.[39] Although Salvi still made use of the figure of hypotyposis in Andromaca's speech, he required an actual representation of a *Sala con arazzi, dove sono rappresentate l'imprese di Achille e di Pirro nella guerra di Troia* for Andromaca's first appearance on stage. The past was made present and displayed before the eyes of the audience throughout seven scenes (the scene of the embassy included): the set transmitted what had originally been expressed through Racine's powerful poetry and had lost strength through Salvi's cuts. The references to the destructive power that the past exerted upon Andromaque, so important in Racine, were to be completely swept away by the 1722 setting in favour of a further concentration on the mother-son relationship as a source of compassion. In any case, we are still in the realm of purely theatrical effect.

Salvi also showed awareness of the means that music of his time possessed and which could contribute to, or even express, the drama. By intervening to simplify and

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[39] Giuntini has underlined Salvi's marked interest in staging rites and ceremonies (pp. 49-50). In particular, *Andromaque* offered the opportunity for the representation of Astianatte's interrupted sacrifice and of Pirro and Andromaca's wedding, which was disrupted by Oreste's attempt on Pirro's life in the temple.

concentrate the affections, by his placing of arias and by his choice of figures and words, it appears that Salvi expected music to be able to strengthen parts of the rhetorical framework through both emphasis and imitation of words, ethos and affections. The radical classicism of Salvi's first experiment with French drama, however, often seems to deny the composer the possibility of 'expressing' the drama; the accurate and self-contained rhetorical construction of his text sometimes assigned to music a role of mere emphasis and imitation. On the contrary, in those scenes where the poet managed to invest the musical numbers with dramaturgical functions and complete the achievement of dramatic climax with the singing of the aria, Gasparini, an experienced composer at the end of an extremely successful career, seems to have responded in a musically more elaborate manner; his expertise, and possibly his personal knowledge of Racine's tragedy, guided him in the expression of what the text did not state, as in the case of Ermione's aria 'Và, priega e piangi'.

Chapter 7

From Georges de Scudéry to Handel: *Radamisto* or *L'Amour Tyrannique*

L'amor tirannico inaugurated the career of one of the most prolific and successful of eighteenth-century Venetian librettists (though he was in fact born in Naples). Sebastiano Biancardi, *alias* Domenico Lalli, arrived in Venice in 1710 and soon established himself as a poet and theatre manager thanks to his influential acquaintances and his friendship with Apostolo Zeno.[1] He wrote regularly for the Teatro San Cassiano until 1718 and, from 1719 onwards, directed the Grimani theatres of San Samuele and San Giovanni Grisostomo, as well as supervising many of the new productions at the Teatro Sant'Angelo during the years of Antonio Vivaldi's dominance.

L'amor tirannico was set to music by the established composer Francesco Gasparini and performed for the first time in Venice at the Teatro San Cassiano during the autumn season of 1710. The published libretto does not provide information about the singers who took part in the first production; however, the names of Carboncino (Tiridate), Romanina [or perhaps Rosaura?] (Polissena), Paita [or Zaida?] (Radamisto), [?]ancina (Zenobia), Bernarda [or perhaps Bernacchi?] (Tigrane) and M. Angelica (Fraarte) are scribbled in by hand in a copy of the libretto that I found at the Biblioteca Casa di Goldoni.[2] Carboncino was most certainly Giovanni Battista Carboni *detto*

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[1] Bruno Brizi, 'Domenico Lalli librettista di Vivaldi?', in *Vivaldi veneziano europeo*, ed. by F. Degrada (Florence: Olschki, 1980), pp. 183-204. On Lalli's involvement with the arrival of Neapolitan operas in Venice during the 1720s, see Reinhard Strohm, 'The Neapolitans in Venice', in *Con che soavità: Studies in Italian Opera, Song and Dance, 1580-1740*, ed. by I. Fenlon and T. Carter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 249-74.

[2] I-Vcg (59 A 12/1)

Carboncino, who was in Venice to sing in two other San Cassiano carnival productions, *Tamerlano* and *Il tiranno eroe*. Giovanni Paita appeared as Bajazet and Silla in the same productions. M. Angelica can easily be identified as Maria Angelica Bracci (Albino in *Il tiranno eroe*), while 'Bernarda' could perhaps be Bernacchi, who sung the roles of Andronico in *Tamerlano* and Pompeo in *Il tiranno eroe*. Many singers were given the name Romanina, the most famous being Marianna Benti Bulgarelli. Yet I would rule out her participation in the 1710 production of *L'amor tirannico* and rather think of Anna Maria Giusti, who had appeared as Isabella in *Edvige regina d'Ungheria* in Venice the previous season. Either Santa Stella or perhaps Margherita Prosdocimo, both apparently in the San Cassiano carnival productions of *Tamerlano* and *Il tiranno eroe*, could have sung the role of Zenobia.

Unfortunately, only three arias of Gasparini's setting for Venice have survived.[3] *L'amor tirannico* was also set by Francesco Feo (Naples, 1713), Giuseppe Maria Orlandini (Rome, 1713, Bologna, 1720 and 1724 as *Farasmane*), and Fortunato Chelleri-Giovanni Porta (Venice, 1722).[4] The libretto was also chosen by George Frideric Handel for his opera *Radamisto*, and it is this setting for London on which this chapter will focus.[5]

Radamisto received its première, with enormous success, at the King's Theatre, Haymarket on 27 April 1720. The opera was dedicated to King George I by Handel himself. It was probably conceived to inaugurate the Royal Academy's first season and to provide, from the very beginning, a model of the aesthetic precepts that had inspired

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[3] The three arias are found in a manuscript collection at D-WD (894).
[4] A complete manuscript score of Francesco Feo's *L'amor tirannico* is held at I-Nc (32.3.28).
[5] Handel revised the opera *Radamisto* at least three times after the first production in April 1720: in December 1720, when Senesino finally arrived in London, November 1721 and in January 1728. For my observations, I shall take into account both the April and December versions; the musical examples, however, are drawn from the December version only.

the foundation of the new opera company.[6] The analysis of the ultimate theatrical source of the *Radamisto* libretto, a source never acknowledged by the librettist and one which has remained unknown until now, clarifies certain dramaturgical aspects of the opera that were hitherto somewhat obscure, and contributes towards our understanding of Handel's creative process.

Radamisto was the first of fourteen operas that Handel composed for the Royal Academy of Music. Established in 1719 to present regular seasons of Italian opera in London, the newly founded institution made its host city one of the most important centres of Italian opera production in Europe for almost ten years. The Royal Academy's operas were carefully chosen, often by the composers themselves, to suit the requirements that its directors, a large group of wealthy aristocrats, gradually established, concerning classical and historical subjects, propriety and verisimilitude.[7] In her study of the institution, Elizabeth Gibson provides ample documentation of the tours abroad undertaken by the Academy directors in the decades preceding its opening and the ways in which they came to know Italian opera in other European centres and particularly in Italy (mainly in Rome, Florence and Venice).[8] The years were exactly those in which *dramma per musica*, like the whole of Italian theatre, was undergoing important changes in its home country - changes not unrelated to the influence of the Accademia dell'Arcadia.

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[6] Winton Dean and John Merrill Knapp, *Handel's Operas 1704-1726* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987). Dean infers from the composer's dedication and the unusually long final coro, that the opera may have been conceived for a very important occasion, such as the inauguration of the first Royal Academy's season. The protracted quarrel between the King and the Prince of Wales postponed the performance of Handel's opera, for which Porta's *Numitore* was substituted. The première of *Radamisto* in fact took place under royal command later on, and was attended by both the King and the Prince of Wales, recently reconciled.

[7] See Hans Dieter Clausen, 'Der Einfluß der Komponisten auf die Librettowahl der Royal Academy of Music (1720-1729)', in *Zur Dramaturgie der Barockoper. Bericht über die Symposien 1992 und 1993*, ed. by H.J. Marx (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1994) (Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Händel-Akademie, vol. 5), pp. 55-72.

[8] Elizabeth Gibson, *The Royal Academy of Music 1719-1728: The Institution and its Directors* (New York & London: Garland, 1989).

The Model

The source libretto has been identified by Reinhard Strohm as the Florentine three-act version of Lalli's *dramma per musica*, performed at the Teatro di via del Cocomero during the Carnival season of 1712 with music by Francesco Gasparini.[9] Strohm suggests that, after his departure from Florence, Handel may have kept in contact with both Ferdinando de' Medici and his poet Antonio Salvi, whose libretti served Handel for some of his later operas; Ferdinando himself might have provided Handel with Lalli's text.

It seems unlikely that Handel saw Gasparini's opera or any other setting of Lalli's libretto, although he could have been among the audience when Nicola Fago's *Radamisto* was performed in Florence during the autumn of 1709. Fago's opera, based on a 1707 libretto by the Neapolitan Nicola Giuvo, was only one of the numerous treatments of this popular subject.[10] Other operatic versions were Andrea Moniglia's *Radamisto*,[11] Matteo Noris's *La Zenobia di Radamisto* (Vienna, 1662), Ippolito Bentivoglio's *Zenobia e Radamisto* (Ferrara, 1665), Noris's *Tiridate* (Venice, 1668), Giacinto Maselli's *Zenobia* (Rome, 1694), Manfredo Trecchi's *Radamisto* (Milan, 1695) and Antonio Marchi's *Radamisto* (Venice, 1698). The subject circulated also as a *scenario*, *Tiridate* (Rome, 1695), and as a prose play by Carlo De' Dottori, *La Zenobia di Radamisto* (Venice, 1686). Why did Handel choose the version by Lalli rather than, for example, that of Giuvo? Did Handel have a choice at all?

Nicola Francesco Haym, the adapter of Lalli's libretto for London, owned a large collection of books and libretti which was auctioned off less than a year after his

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[9] Reinhard Strohm, 'Handel and his Italian opera texts', in *Essays on Handel and Italian opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 34-79.
[10] Giuvo's libretto was printed in Venice but performed, with music by Fago, at Piedimonte d'Alife, Naples.
[11] Andrea Moniglia's libretto is found in his *Poesie drammatiche*, 3 vols (Florence, 1689-90).

death in 1729.[12] The libretti (now apparently lost) included in the printed catalogue prepared for the sale, were bound together in larger volumes without any indication as to their provenance, date or authorship. The items that are of some interest for this study include two copies each of *L'amor tirannico* (cat.nos.818 and 964/4) and *Tiridate* (cat.nos.950 and 964/1), one copy each of *Radamisto* (cat.no.952), *Farasmane* (cat.no.817) and *Zenobia* (cat.no.950).[13] If Handel had access to these texts and saw the Florence performance of Fago's *Radamisto*, he would have been acquainted with at least some of the available treatments of the subject. The choice of Lalli's version was, I believe, not accidental.

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[12] A printed catalogue prepared for the sale is held at the British Library [S.C.856(6)]. See Lowell Lindgren, 'The Accomplishments of the Learned and Ingenious Nicola Francesco Haym (1678-1729)', *Studi Musicali* 16/2 (1987), pp. 248-380, and Gibson, *The Royal Academy of Music.*

[13] I have attempted to identify some of these libretti: *Radamisto* (no.952) may well be a copy of Handel's libretto, rather than Giuvo's or Marchi's earlier versions of the subject, as many other titles in this particular volume refer to London adaptations by Haym himself [cat.no.952 includes, among others: *Admeto* (1727-8), *Aquilio Consolo* (1724), *Elpidia* (1725), *Etearco* (1711), *Giulio Cesare in Egitto* (1724-25), *Ottone* (1723, 1726), *Radamisto* (1720), *Rodelinda* (1725), *Tamerlano* (1724), *Vespesiano* (1724)]. One of the two copies of *Tiridate* in volume no.964/1 might have been Noris's 1668 reworking of Ippolito Bentivoglio's *Radamisto and Zenobia* of 1665, an older treatment of the Radamisto theme, as all the titles in this volume correspond to operas performed in Venice between 1662 and 1702 [cat.no.964/1: *Le fatiche d'Ercole per Deianira* (Aureli),1662; *Il Tito* (Beregani), 1662; *La caduta di Elio Seiano* (Minato), 1667; *Tiridate* (Noris), 1668; *Vespasiano* (Corradi), 1678; *Orontea* (Cicognini), 1649 or 1683; *L'Almerinda* (Pancieri), 1691; *Demetrio*, 1702]. *Zenobia* could have been anything from Handel's *Radamisto* adapted for Hamburg in 1722 to an earlier libretto by Giacinto Maselli, or the 1662 Viennese *La Zenobia di Radamisto* by Noris or even Marchi's and Noris's Venetian libretti of 1698 and 1666 respectively which dealt with the completely different subject of Zenobia in Palmira. The precise identification of the two copies of *L'amor tirannico* is even more problematic. The one in volume no.964/4 could have been the 1710 libretto for Venice; all the libretti gathered here were performed in Venice between 1707 and 1711, apart from *Gli equivoci nel sembiante (*but performed in Venice in 1690 and 1691 under the title of *Gli amori fortunati negl'equivoci*) [Cat.no.964/4: *Melissa* (1707), *Vendetta d'Amore* (1707), *Vincitor generoso* (1708), *Amor tirannico* (1710), *Tamerlano* (1710), *Isacio tiranno* (1710), *Tradimento traditor di se stesso* (1711)]. We can only speculate that the second copy in volume no.818 might have been the 1712 libretto actually used by Handel and Haym for *Radamisto*. This collection seems to give no hint as to the principle behind the choice of its content; the libretti could easily have come into Haym's hands already bound, representing a collection previously owned by someone else. In addition to these libretti, Handel may also have seen a copy of *Radamisto*, probably that by Giuvo (I have not been able to see the libretto), belonging to one of the Academy's directors, Lord Finch. The libretto is held by the Leicestershire Record Office, Finch Collection, Acc.6. For more information on Lord Finch and his collection, see E. Gibson, *The Royal Academy of Music (1719-28) and its Directors*, in *Handel Tercentenary Collection*, ed. by S. Sadie and A. Hicks (London: Macmillan, 1987), pp. 138-64.

The story of Zenobia and Radamisto, whose historical roots go back to Tacitus's *Annales*, was not new to the operatic stage, and yet another opera on this much exploited subject could easily have passed unnoticed.[14] Yet the lavish and spectacular deployment of military troops, the staging of battles and the sight of a besieged city, in line with a well established (not only Venetian) operatic tradition, enchanted the eyes of the Venetian audience and contributed much to the success of Lalli's *Amor tirannico*.

In his libretto, Lalli made use of some of the most exploited *topoi* of contemporary *dramma per musica* but, while keeping an attentive eye on his predecessors, he was looking beyond the Alps. The entire organisation of the plot, the characters, even part of the versification, the title itself and the five-act division were borrowed from *L'amour tyrannique* by Georges de Scudéry, a successful *tragicomédie* written in 1638 and performed for the first time in Paris in 1639.[15]

Scudéry's *L'amour tyrannique* had almost certainly not been translated or performed in Italy by the time Lalli came to write his libretto.[16] The work, however, was very popular in France and considered a masterpiece. It was admired by Richelieu, Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac, Jean-François Sarasin, and we know that it was reprinted several times. It was published with Sarasin's *Discours de la tragédie*, in which he included a special study of the play.[17] Corresponding to the title of his essay, Sarasin defined *L'amour tyrannique* as a tragedy in accordance with Greek usage, which allowed such classification even when the ending was a happy one. Scudéry, Pierre

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[14] See Washa Gwacharija, 'Die historischen Grundlagen von G.F.Händels Oper *Radamisto*', *G.F.Händel und seine Zeitgenossen*, ed. by Walther Siegmund-Schultze (Halle, 1979), pp. 59-66.

[15] Georges de Scudéry, *L'amour tyrannique* (1638), in *Théâtre du XVIIe siècle*, ed. by J. Truchet and J. Scherer (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), vol. 2. On Scudéry's *L'amour tyrannique* see Eveline Dutertre, *Scudéry dramaturge* (Geneva: Droz, 1988), pp. 301-20.

[16] Scudéry's *tragicomédie* is mentioned neither in Luigi Ferrari, *Le traduzioni italiane del teatro tragico francese nei secoli XVII e XVIII: Saggio bibliografico* (Paris: Champion, 1925); Nicola Mangini, 'Sul teatro tragico francese in italia nel secolo XVIII', *Convivium* 32 (1964), pp. 347-64, nor Simonetta Ingegno Guidi, 'Per la storia del teatro francese in Italia: L.A. Muratori, G.G. Orsi e P.J. Martello', *La Rassegna della Letteratura Italiana* 78 (1974), pp. 64-94.

[17] Jean-François Sarasin, *Discours de la Tragédie ou Remarques sur l'Amour tyrannique de Monsieur de Scudéry* (1939), in *Oeuvres de J.-F.Sarasin*, ed. by R.P. Festugières (Paris: Champion, 1926).

Corneille's fiercest rival, famed for his valuable *Observations sur Le Cid* (1637), probably wrote his work with *Le Cid* in mind; his intention was to surpass Corneille on the same ground and with much of the same material. Scudéry wanted to improve upon *Le Cid* by means of unity of action, time and place, as well as by avoiding any violent death that would have spoiled the triumph of good and the repentance of the villain.

The subject of Lalli's and Scudéry's dramas is identical. Both deal with the conflict between honour, love and nature: Tiridate, married to Polissena but in love with Radamisto's wife Zenobia, has declared war on them and imprisoned Farasmane, the father of Radamisto and Polissena. Radamisto and Zenobia manage to escape but, seeing Tiridate's army drawing ever nearer, Zenobia begs her husband to kill her - in vain. She then throws herself into the river Arasse. Only slightly injured, she is saved by Tiridate's soldiers and brought to the tyrant. Radamisto manages to enter Tiridate's court in disguise and after various incidents succeeds in saving Zenobia, Farasmane and his kingdom. It is in what takes place at Tiridate's *reggia* that the two texts differ. The librettist here temporarily abandoned his model and turned to other sources. But more about this later.

Lalli retained all the main *dramatis personae*, though with some alterations:

Table 7.1 *Radamisto*. Characters

Scudéry, *L'amour tyrannique*	**Lalli, *L'amor tirannico/Radamisto***
Orosmane, roi de Cappadoce	Farasmane, re di Tracia
Tigrane, son fils	Radamisto, suo figlio
Tiridate, roi de Pont	Tiridate, re d'Armenia
Ormène, sa femme, fille d'Orosmane	Polissena, figlia di Farasmane re di Tracia, sua moglie
Polixène, femme de Tigrane	Zenobia, moglie di Radamisto
Troïle, frère de Polyxène	
Pharnabase, jadis gouverneur de Tir.	
Phraarte, lieutenant général de Tir.	Fraarte, generale e confidente di Tiridate
Cassandre et Hécube, filles d'honneur d'Ormène	
	Tigrane, principe di Ponto innamorato di Polissena
Euphorbe, capitaine phrygien	
Troupes des gardes de Tiridate	
Troupe d'habitants	

Orosmane became Farasmane, while Tigrane and Polyxène were changed into the more traditional Radamisto and Zenobia. The names of Polyxène and Tigrane, however, were retained. Ormène became Polissena, while the name of Tigrane was given to a newly created character, the result of a merging together of not only Cassandre and Hécube, the *filles d'honneur*, but also of Troïle and Euphorbe, two other secondary characters who made their appearances towards the end of the play for the *dénouement*. Lalli's Tigrane, in fact, combined in himself various functions, not only those pertaining to the secondary parts mentioned above, but also to characters found in older libretti on the same subject: a remarkable model of dramatic economy! Finally, Phraarte and Pharnabase were merged into one single character, Fraarte.

The influence of Scudéry on Lalli and, consequently, on Handel is noticeable in the ethos of the characters. Radamisto, the young and vulnerable lover, experiences two major conflicts: the first between honour and nature (he has to choose whether to surrender or let his father die), and the second between honour and love (he has to choose whether to kill his wife Zenobia or let her fall into Tiridate's hands). His ethos and affections are partly derived from Scudéry and partly from traditional operatic treatments of the hero. Looking briefly at the older characterisations by Moniglia, Bentivoglio and Giuvo, one can trace the forerunners of one of the most expressive arias that Handel wrote for Radamisto, 'Ombra cara', a well-established *topos* in the operatic tradition - the 'ombra' aria.

Bosco con veduta del fiume Arasse

E pur qui spiaggia romita,
Ove 'l core, e'l passo arresto,
Ombre tetre, orror funesto,
Diedi morte alla mia vita.

Acque, già di sangue un rio
V'addolcì dal sen trafitto,
Oggi in pena al gran delitto
Renda amare il pianto mio.
[Moniglia, I,i]

Duri sassi, e freddi avelli,
Che i cadaveri chiudete,
Questa salma raccogliete,
Involatela ai flagelli.

Vaste pietre, et urne antiche
Dove morte suol gioire,
Insegnatemi il morire,
E al mio duol fatevi amiche.
[Bentivoglio, I,viii]

(closing arioso)

Mia sposa, ah tu non senti,
Mia sposa, e qual t'ingombra
Caligine mortale?
Ah di me stesso un ombra
Tu mi rendi morendo:
Ma che spero, che attendo,
Se con torbido ciglio
Languida la rimiro
Se vicino è il periglio,
E svenar la promisi
Ecco la sveno ingrato
Indi anch'io senza pace
L'alma vado a spirar
saziati o Fato.
[Giuvo, I,vi]

Ombra cara di mia sposa,
Deh riposa
E lieta aspetta
La vendetta ch'io farò;

E poi tosto, ove tu stai
Mi vedrai
Venire a volo,
E fedel t'abbraccerò.
Ombra cara...
[Lalli-Haym, II,ii]

Lalli's combination of the role of Radamisto as conceived by Scudéry with the traditional treatment of the hero, and the scenic situations entrusted to him by the operatic tradition, provided a great variety of *loci topici* that served the composer's inspiration and thereby laid the foundations for Handel's creation.[18] Zenobia and Polissena, however, are the true protagonists of the opera and depict two different aspects of marital devotion. Polissena is indeed a tragic heroine, loyal to her husband Tiridate in spite of having been rejected, torn between her love for him - which is one and the same as duty - and that for her family; the internal conflict between blood and marital love, so well explored by Corneille and Racine, is entirely absorbed by Lalli. In her opening prayer to the Gods, 'Sommi Dei', Polissena reveals her kinship with the French Ormène:

Ormène
Dieux, qui voyez les maux dont je suis poursuivie,
Accordez-m'en la fin en celle de ma vie;
[Scudéry, I,i]

Polissena
Sommi Dei,
Che scorgete i mali miei,
Proteggete un mesto cor
[Lalli-Haym, I,i]

The rhetorical function of the prayer as well as its basic structure are retained by Lalli and consequently by Handel. Polissena's *exordium* precedes Tigrane's *narratio* and is, to use the terminology of rhetoric, a real *captatio benevolentiae*; Polissena appeals to the listeners' emotions in order to arouse compassion for her own tragic fate. She begins with a desperate cry, an invocation to the gods that Handel expresses in music with the leap of a minor sixth followed by an incredibly torn, ambiguous diminished fourth (Ex.

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[18] On *loci topici* see Chapter 1 'Poetics and Rhetoric as Cultural Background of *Dramma per Musica*'.

7.1). The actual request 'proteggete un mesto cor', initially sung on one note, is placid and solemn and becomes gradually more impassioned under the strain of her anguish: an emotional crescendo anticipated by the sighing on 'cor' (bb. 30 and 34) and, before that, by the two ascending leaps of a perfect fourth leading to the highest pitch on 'mali miei' (b. 23), a melodic figure that recalls the opening *exclamatio* and welcomes the delayed conclusion of the descending tetrachord E-D-C-B, the melodic framework of the vocal line. Like Ormène, Polissena is to be faithful to her husband until the very end and is to have no part in Radamisto's sanguinary plot. Unlike the French heroine, however, Polissena is eventually to react against Tiridate - the cruel and overbearing tyrant now fused with a more 'traditional' villain - when he continues to reject her in spite of her having saved his life.[19]

The diminution of Farasmane's dramatic weight is one of the most evident modifications to the original made by Lalli in his adaptation and, as a consequence, it determines a lesser focus on Polissena in favour of the couple Radamisto and Zenobia. Although mentioned in the *argomento* of Moniglia's libretto, Farasmane was totally new to the operatic stage. Lalli had no frame of reference other than Scudéry and, in fact, all scenes in which Farasmane is present are drawn from the French *tragicomédie*. The French *jadis gouverneur* Phraarte still survives in Lalli's earlier versions of the libretto. The role was to be badly damaged by the demands of the castrato Baldassari who sang Fraarte in Handel's 1720 April production: he managed to have his character transformed into a higher-ranking lover, thereby destroying forever Tiridate's old fashioned 'consigliere' who spoke through moral *sententiae*. By the 1721 revival the character of Fraarte was omitted altogether.[20]

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[19] In most libretti preceding Lalli's, the real tyrant is, in fact, Radamisto.

[20] The anonymous letter that appeared in *The Theatre* of 12 March 1720 is very explicit about Baldassari's complaints. The full text is given in Gibson, *The Royal Academy of Music 1719-1728*, pp. 408-9.

Tigrane, the virtuous warrior in love with Polissena, is a sort of *factotum* instrumental to the development of the plot. Despite the aria 'Con vana speranza', which Winton Dean regards as a successful attempt on Handel's part at 'bringing him to life', Tigrane appears as a one-dimensional character: brave, positive and capable of the most unconditional love.[21] His first aria serves to introduce him and initiate his persuasive action in regard to Polissena. The fast motion of semiquavers expresses both the dynamic essence of the character and the opening imperative 'deh, fuggi';[22] the *continuum* also transmits the physical sensation of anxiety, suggested by one of the attributes of Tiridate, 'un che del tuo riposo è sì tiranno', even more emphasised by the vocal flourishes on 'tiranno'. The sense of repose is, on the contrary, largely conveyed in the B section of the aria when, the pressing instrumental accompaniment having stopped, he gives Polissena a lovable portrayal of himself, which is in stark contrast to Tiridate's. The faithful lover is opposed to the unfaithful one, a vision supported musically by the steady melodic design of the vocal line, and the seductive chromaticisms. Tigrane's seduction continues in the following aria, 'L'ingrato non amar'. Although the aria was inserted for the December revival when 'Deh fuggi' was given to Fraarte, 'L'ingrato non amar' stems from Tigrane's speech in Lalli's text. Taken together, the two arias complete Tigrane's plan of seduction and are an example of the use of the basic strategies of rhetoric. To convince through reason (*fidem facere*) and to move by appealing to the emotions of the listener (*animos impellere*) are the two objectives of the *ars oratoria*. Having failed to convince Polissena through the exposition, in the recitative, of the bare facts - that Tiridate 'è invaghito di Zenobia gentil' - Tigrane tries to persuade Polissena by dwelling on the effects on her of Tiridate's unfaithfulness: anguish and torment (*confirmatio*). Still unsuccessful, Tigrane

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[21] Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas 1704-1726*, p. 339.
[22] The motif is borrowed from Bonocini's *Etearco*.

eventually appeals to her affections in an attempt to arouse pity for himself with 'L'ingrato non amar' (*peroratio*). Polissena, unfortunately for him, will never yield.

By following Scudéry, Lalli complied with the basic demands of classical dramaturgy, as he kept the division into five acts for the Venetian première, linked the scenes throughout (with only two exceptions where he tried to present simultaneous events) and observed the unity of action. The lack of unity of action in all of Lalli's predecessors seems to have been caused by the presence of double, sometimes triple, couples. This led to parallel episodes often totally independent of one another. We still do have in Lalli, of course, the double couple Radamisto-Zenobia and Tiridate-Polissena, but the strong blood relationships between them, which bind together the interests and the implications of the conflicts in a very complex way, are new. Undoubtedly Handel's first Academy opera represented a novelty in comparison with most of those that had come previously, not so much in its historical setting, as in the sibling and conjugal relationships that were depicted. None of Lalli's predecessors could, or wished to, provide a closer-knit interlacing of affections than Scudéry, and Lalli himself was clearly indebted to him for the emphasis placed upon family relationships and the conflicts between honour and love. The character of Rosmira (one of Polissena's predecessors) in Giuvo's *Radamisto*, for example, is driven only by jealousy; there are no family ties with the other characters. Rosmira is not trapped in a system of multiple relationships as is Polissena, who is concerned not only with herself and her husband Tiridate, but also with her father, brother and sister-in-law. Compared with his predecessors, Lalli stands out also for the elimination of secondary characters, another element connected with the unity of action. The reduction in the number of characters is one of the traits of reform libretti and is typical of the tendencies of French Classicism, a process that the French theatre historian Jacques Scherer ascribes to a genuine classic ideal of dramatic concentration and simplicity.[23]

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[23] Jacques Scherer, *La dramaturgie classique en France* (Paris: Nizet, 1950).

Even more consistent with French classical dramaturgy is the organisation of the libretto in *Exposition - Noeud - Dénouement.* The exposition of the facts relevant to the understanding of the plot is entirely and clearly carried out right at the beginning of the opera, and by the end of the first act all of the characters have been introduced. Lalli further improved the exposition in the direction of classical dramaturgy in line not only with the directions of the anonymous writer of *Les caractères de la tragédie: Essais sur la tragédie*, who asserted that 'l'exposition doit être entière, courte, claire, intéressante et vraisemblable',[24] but also with d'Aubignac's statement 'Parler, c'est Agir'.[25] The disguised monologue of Ormène, who is already aware of her husband's lascivious desire for her sister-in-law, was transformed by Lalli into a dialogue in which Tigrane briefly narrates facts that are unknown to Polissena with the precise intention of persuading her to act, that is, to leave her husband Tiridate and to accept his love. Handel emphasised the sense of expectation in the bleak accompaniment to Polissena's short aria 'Sommi Dei', in which the bare introduction of the strings, in striking contrast with the fuller harmony and broader melodic design of Polissena's touching prayer, creates an ominous sense of waiting and a prelude to Tigrane's distressing news.

Lalli, Scudéry and the Operatic Tradition

Lalli followed Scudéry in his alternation of success and failure, despair and hope - skilfully laid out to create the maximum dramatic effect - up until II,ix (*Radamisto*, 1720),[26] the scene of Radamisto's encounter with his sister Polissena. Here the two texts begin to diverge. In both works, as in the earlier libretti, Radamisto enters Tiridate's palace in disguise and manages to speak to Polissena. Whereas Scudéry's

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[24] F-Pn 559 (Nouvelles Acquisitions du Fonds Français).
[25] François Hédelin Abbé d'Aubignac, *La pratique du théâtre* (Paris: A. de Sommaville, 1657), ed. by Martino (Algiers: Jules Carbonnel, 1927). See here, Chapter 1 'Poetics and Rhetoric as Cultural Background of *Dramma per Musica*'.
[26] *L'amor tirannico* (Venice, 1710), III,vii; *L'amor tirannico* (Florence, 1712), II,ix.

'Radamisto' is arrested during the ensuing dialogue, Lalli's hero manages to meet Zenobia and to talk to her in the presence of Tiridate himself. Not only does Tiridate fail to recognise him; he also asks Radamisto, now using the name of Ismeno - a servant who claims to have killed Radamisto himself - to help him gain Zenobia's love. The dialogue between Radamisto and Zenobia, hovering between the two levels of truth and deceit, and the exchange between Tiridate and Zenobia, carried out by a third party, are two of the best tricks of *commedia dell'arte*, later to be refined by Goldoni and *opera buffa*. Handel and his librettist did not retain this last part of the scene, the only comic episode in the whole opera; its comic flavour was probably considered out of tune with the rest of the libretto and unsuited to the Royal Academy's ideals of dignity and decorum.[27] This stereotypical episode, so common in older Venetian libretti, was prepared by Radamisto's encounter with Tigrane after Zenobia had been wounded. The two episodes of Radamisto's disguise as a servant and his dialogues with Tiridate and Zenobia came together from the libretto-writing tradition - they are both found in Noris' and Marchi's earlier libretti - and Lalli did not separate them.

Lalli's substantial intervention from mid-play onwards created a new equilibrium among the events and a more rationalistic and dynamic unfolding of the story - at least compared to that of his predecessors. In his re-use of traditional material, he complied with the demands of *verisimiglianza* in eighteenth-century opera: he eliminated any reference to the magical and strengthened the premisses for the *dénouement* by making Tiridate not completely wicked (and therefore his repentance less improbable) and introducing the role of Tigrane as an agent to bring about the change.[28] When switching from Scudéry to other models, however, Lalli failed to 'tell'

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[27] The scene is defined as 'comic' not only because it provokes laughter, but also because this is a scenic typology belonging to the tradition of *commedia dell'arte*. Cfr. Chapter 2, '*Commedia dell'Arte* and *Dramma per Musica*'.

[28] In Noris' *Tiridate* (Venice, 1668), Radamisto is in despair after having wounded Zenobia and thinks of committing suicide when a magician appears and stops him. He is sent to a magic spring, which can change his features to enable him to enter Tiridate's court safely and set Zenobia free.

Radamisto that his beloved wife was still alive and held captive at Tiridate's *reggia*. When Radamisto appears at the court, he seems to be perfectly aware that Zenobia is alive there. Earlier libretti included scenes in which Radamisto was told about Zenobia's capture, while in Scudéry the news of Zenobia's survival was announced by his sister Polissena during their important dialogue in IV,vi. Lalli cut the dialogue between them too early and left out the relevant lines - a minor 'mistake' in his technique, confirming the fact that he was borrowing in the first place.

Handel's Intervention: a Musical Response to a Dramatic Question

There is, indeed, a rather more evident 'mistake' that can be explained with reference to Lalli's French model: the weakness of the finale of Handel's first version of the opera. In Scudéry (but not in Lalli), Radamisto is captured during a meeting with his sister and sent to prison. He then decides to seek death by his own hand and sends a letter to Zenobia asking her for poison. Zenobia and Farasmane, both free to wander about the *reggia*, agree to Radamisto's request and send him a ring containing poison together with a farewell letter. Unfortunately Tiridate arrives just in time to discover everything; he assumes that the poison was meant for him and orders Radamisto's execution. At this point, Lalli picked up the thread of Scudéry's plot without realising that the presence of Farasmane, absolutely natural in the *tragicomédie*, was totally unjustified in the libretto, as all the new episodes that he had so far introduced did not include Farasmane; in fact, the king had been missing from the stage since I,vii.[29] Scudéry then started the build-up to the climax and released the tension with the arrival of the armies, a *coup de théâtre*, the Aristotelian catastrophe that overturns the situation completely and unexpectedly, thus leading to the happy ending. Lalli, instead, cleared the stage and transferred the final action to the temple where Zenobia has to choose whether to

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[29] I,x in both the 1710 and 1712 libretti of *L'amor tirannico*.

marry Tiridate or witness Radamisto's death; this was a popular *topos* on the operatic stage of the time, which saw many heroines face similar dilemmas: Andromaca, Asteria and Rodelinda - all inspired by French tragic figures.[30] The climax is reached when Farasmane, Zenobia and Polissena offer to sacrifice themselves in order to save Radamisto; the arrival of the armies and the powerful final trial, in which King Farasmane acts as a judge and all the characters, save Polissena, stand against Tiridate, finally see the plot unravel. Large portions of Scudéry's text were retained by Lalli for his 1710 (and 1712) libretto, making this final scene into a drama-like finale essentially based on speech - a good example of formal oratory. The emphasis placed upon Tiridate's isolation is dramatically very effective; Farasmane points at Tiridate by using attributes that should arouse pity for him, but do so no longer:

Farasmane
[...] Fraarte,
questo è il tuo re.
Fraarte
Tal non è più. La fede
dura al suddito in petto
quanto dura nel re virtù e ragione.
Farasmane
Tigrane, ecco il tuo amico.
Tigrane
No: spenta è l'amistade
per chi spento ha la fede e l'innocenza.
Farasmane
Zenobia ecco il tuo amante.
Zenobia
Amor sì iniquo
è il titolo maggior delle sue colpe:
Farasmane
Radamisto, il cognato
t'addito in lui.

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[30] These are the heroines of Antonio Salvi's libretti *Astianatte* (1701), *Il gran Tamerlano* (1706) and *Rodelinda* (1710). All three are modelled on French dramas: Racine's *Andromaque*, Pradon's *Tamerlan ou la morte de Bajazet* and Pierre Corneille's *Pertharite*. Cfr. Francesco Giuntini, *I drammi per musica di Antonio Salvi* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994), and here, Chapter 6, 'Rhetorical Strategies and Tears in *Astianatte*'.

Radamisto

Rispetto
egli al sangue non ebbe, e non l'esiga.
[Lalli, *L'amor tirannico* (1712), III,xiv]

All the characters ask that Tiridate be put to death. Only Polissena, kneeling at her father's feet (*s'inginocchia avanti il trono* while Ormène, at this point, *se met à genoux*), pleads for Tiridate's life. In witnessing this ultimate sign of her love, Tiridate finally repents. Particularly effective are Polissena's words 'Se la sua morte vuoi, vuoi la mia morte' which Tiridate repeats. The words themselves, and the effect of *anaphora*, were taken directly from Scudéry:

Ormène
[...]
Si l'on punit sa faute il faut qu'on me punisse;
Si son règne finit il faut que je finisse;
Son destin et le mien marchent d'un même pas;
Bref, ses jours sont mes jours, sa mort est mon trépas;
[...]
Tiridate
il redit ceci en lui-même
"Si l'on punit sa faute il faut qu'on me punisse;
Si son règne finit il faut que je finisse;
Son destin et le mien marchent d'un même pas;
Bref, ses jours sont mes jours, sa mort est mon trépas."
Ah! c'est trop! je me rends, la raison me surmonte.
[Scudéry, *L'amour tyrannique*, V,viii]

It is understandable that the cuts made to this scene for the first production of *Radamisto* in 1720 would weaken the entire finale.

The improvements that Handel made for the December revival re-established the climax that had been lost in the cuts, but through the different medium of music. The insertion of Radamisto's accompanied recitative ('Vieni, d'empietà mostro crudele'), the only one in the opera, followed by his fierce aria 'Vile! se mi dai vita' (III,v), strengthened the first part of the dramatic crescendo. There is a corresponding scene in

the French drama in which, with a *tirade*, Radamisto stands against Tiridate and offers himself to death with courage (V,vi). I am not suggesting that Handel, or his librettist, knew *L'amour tyrannique* - although this is not impossible - but rather that Handel (or Haym) understood the dramatic need for a strong confrontation between Radamisto and Tiridate at this point to serve as a catalyst; this dramatic crescendo was continued by Polissena's new aria 'Barbaro partirò' (which was substituted for 'Sposo ingrato'). The climax is eventually reached in the quartet 'O cedere o perir'.[31] The lines which had been cut were not reinstated, but the dynamic tension between all the characters and Tiridate, who fights strenuously until he is overwhelmed by Polissena's devotion, is conveyed in the form of the quartet and by its imitative texture. Dean has already pointed towards the significance of Handel's intervention: 'Handel deploys the full concerted style of later opera, years ahead of its time, each character clearly differentiated and the drama carried forward in the music'.[32] These kinds of ensemble were relatively rare in early eighteenth-century *drammi per musica* (with the exception of Alessandro Scarlatti's, who used them frequently in his later operas). The *coro* normally concluded an opera and this, of course, did not allow for any differentiation between the parts. Handel's quartet does not 'amplify', 'imitate' or 'express' single words but represents the entire scene. Music did something that spoken drama could not: it allowed the characters to express themselves simultaneously. Handel here transformed opera from a drama *with* music to a drama *through* music. It was indeed a stroke of genius, a musical response to a dramatic question.

Several scenes, especially in Act I, were substantially modelled on Scudéry's *tragicomédie*, as listed in the following table (Table 7.2). The scenes given in

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[31] The second version of the opera has been extensively discussed by Bernd Edelmann in his article 'Die zweite Fassung von Händels Oper *Radamisto* (HWV 12b)', *Göttinger Händel-Beiträge* 3 (1987), pp. 99-123.

[32] Dean and Knapp, *Handel's Operas, 1704-1726*, p. 344.

parenthesis are those in which analogous incidents take place, although Lalli did apparently not use them as a direct model for his text.

Table 7.2 *Radamisto.* Scenes based on Scudéry

L'amour tyrannique	*Radamisto* **(1720)**
I,i	I,i
I,iii-v	I,iii-viii
(II,iv	I,x)
(II,v	II,i)
(III,i	II,iii)
(III,ii	II,vii)
(III,iv	II,iv-v)
IV,vi	II,ix
(V,vi	III,v)
V,vii-viii	III,x-xi

The text of the original was shortened by Lalli throughout, and many sections were translated directly into Italian and assigned to the recitative. Many arias appear to have been inspired by the French text, but rather than quoting, they condense it. What seems to have interested Lalli most is the theatricality of Scudéry's drama. Together with the work's general dramatic structure, Lalli appears to have preferred to borrow from those scenes in which dialogues in stichomythia and action on stage were predominant and Scudéry's flair for theatrical effect was displayed more successfully. An example of this approach to the French model, that also shows the importance of Lalli's mediation for Handel, is to be found in the scenes in which Zenobia and Radamisto appear for the first time and sing their first arias (I,iv-v).

According to the printed líbretto for the production of the opera in the spring of 1720, the first act opened with *A Camp with Tents, and a Vista of the City, before which runs the River Araxis, over which there is a Bridge* (corresponding to *La scène est devant la ville d'Amasie, capitale de la Cappadoce, en l'Asie Mineure*, in the French

tragicomédie).[33] The first three scenes, including the more intimate prayer of Polissena, Tigrane's seduction and Farasmane's request, took place in the proscenium, within a *scena corta* showing the *Padiglione reale con sedia e tavolino.* The view of the city in the background (if indeed shown from the very beginning of the opera) could provide a visual aid for the audience towards understanding the *antefatto*, thus making the cuts in the recitative possible. With the first appearance of Zenobia and Radamisto leaving the fortified city, the action moves towards upper and centre stage. This scenic unit eventually culminates in the attack on the city. As the scene opens, Zenobia appears discouraged: she fears the fall of the city, captivity and, above all, separation from her husband; Radamisto consoles her. Here, textual borrowings are virtually non-existent, but the whole scene, including Radamisto's aria 'Cara sposa', finds echoes in Scudéry's text. Polixène's (Zenobia) exordium conveys her feelings of discouragement, which give rise to Radamisto's aria 'Cara sposa', in particular to the A section:

Ils sont sur un bastion

Polixène
Enfin, Seigneur, enfin l'espoir nous abandonne,
Et pour me conserver vous perdez la couronne.
[...]

[Scudéry I,iv]

Radamisto
Cara sposa amato bene,
Prendi speme,
Ché non sempre irato il cielo
Volgerà lo sdegno in me.
Sgombra, oh Dio, dal nobil core
Il dolore
Ché il vederti lagrimosa
Fa tremar lo spirto e 'l piè
Cara sposa...
[Lalli-Haym I,iv]

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[33] In the autograph score and copies the *didascalia* reads (in Italian): *Padiglione Reale con sedia e tavolino. Polissena sola al tavolino* (A royal tent with a seat and a table. Polissena alone, sitting at the table). This same heading is to be found in Lalli's 1712 libretto for Florence.

The B section is, instead, clearly inspired by Tigrane's (Radamisto) first two lines:

Tigrane
Ah! changez de discours, ma chère Polixène;
Vous augmentez mes plèurs, vous irritez ma peine.
[...]

[Scudéry, I,iv]

The use of metonyms, parallelisms, repetition of words and suspensions in the recitative enables Lalli to convey, in a concise and effective manner, a number of messages - above all, the close relationship between Zenobia and Radamisto, thereby establishing them as a couple.

Conversely Lalli borrowed extensively from Scudéry's text for the following scene (I,v; I,viii in the 1712 original). This is the scene in which the action, stage set, recitatives and arias all focus on honour, courage and war-like spirit and lead to the siege of the city of Artanissa, accompanied by a martial *sinfonia*. From handwritten annotations found in a prompt copy of the 1720 libretto (April production), we understand that the attack was carried out during the symphony by eight or ten pike-bearing soldiers charging, on the practical bridge, from stage right to stage left.[34] It constitutes a perfect setting for the introduction of Zenobia's ethos, of which we had already caught a glimpse in Scudéry's lines, with her recitative and aria 'Son contenta di morire'. In both texts (Text example 7.1), scenic words such as 'Avanzate' ('Avancez', in the French text) are suggestive of the action on stage, namely the arrival of Tigrane and his soldiers. The suspension of the action given by the *a parte* of the French stage direction *Il dit ces vers bas* was preserved and even amplified by Lalli through the interpolations of Zenobia, Radamisto and Farasmane. Handel

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[34] The theatre historians Judith Milhous and Robert Hume discuss this rare example of an operatic prompt-book in 'A Prompt Copy of Handel's *Radamisto*', *Musical Times* 127 (1986), pp. 316-21.

Text example 7.1 The continuous line encases analogous passages of Scudéry's and Lalli-Haym's texts (1720), while the broken line encases passages from the 1712 libretto that were cut by Haym

Scudéry I,v

Phaarte *Il parle à ses soldats.*

Avancez vers la porte,
Pendant que je ferai ce que mon ordre porte.

Il dit ces vers bas:

O contrainte fâcheuse où je suis obligé!
Je te plains dans le coeur, pauvre Prince affligé;
Mais si j'achève enfin le dessein que je trame,
Phraarte, en te sauvant, se sauvera de blâme.

C'est le Roi mon Seigneur qui me fait t'avertir
De lui rendre la place, et d'en vouloir sortir:
Car si tu ne le fais, consulte, délibère;
Il hausse le poignard.
J'ai le commandement de poignarder ton père.

Tigrane

O Dieux! en quel état me trouvé-je en ce jour!
Que dois-je devenir? Nature, Honneur, Amour,
Hélas! qui de vous trois fera pencher mon âme
Sans me combler de peine aussi bien que de blâme?
[...]
Oh Ciel trop rigoureux [...]
[...]
Oh destins ennemis [...]
[...]
Arrête, malheureux, garde bien d'entreprendre
Ce détestable coup, puisque je me veux rendre.

Orosmane

Tigrane, oses-tu bien par crainte, ou par pitié,
Mépriser la vertu, plutôt que l'amitié?
T'aurais-je fait un coeur capable de foiblesse?
Oses-tu prononcer ce discours qui me blesse?
Sache que mon esprit ne peut souffrir ta voix,
Qui veut faire une injure au sang de tant de Rois.
Parle: as-tu remarqué que j'aime assez la vie
Pour craindre lâchement qu'elle me soit ravie?
Et crois-tu dans l'état où je suis devant toi,
Parce que j'ai des fers, que je ne sois plus Roi?
Non, des biens seulement la Fortune se joue;
Si tu n'es généreux, va, je te désavoue.

Tigrane

Mais vous pouvoir sauver, et ne le faire pas?

Orosmane

Empêche notre honte, et non pas mon trépas.

Lalli I,v (viii in the 1712 libretto)

Fraarte

Ver le nemiche mura
avanzate, o guerrieri, il vostro passo,
né senza mio comando
cosa alcuna tentate.

Zenobia

(Che vorran queste genti?)

Radamisto

(Seco è l'afflitto padre. Udiam che fia.)

Zenobia

(Turba speme e timor l'anima mia.)

Farasmane

(Sostenete, o gran numi, in tal periglio
la mia costanza e la virtù del figlio.)

Fraarte

Il possente d'Armenia alto monarca
intima, oh Radamisto, e ti comanda,
che la città si renda, e a te promette
libero uscirne. E se persisti, ei vuole
ch'io dia l'ultimo assalto,
ma pria, che in tua presenza il padre tuo s'uccida.

Radamisto

A qual sorte funesta
giunto mi veggo, oh stelle!
Onor, natura, amor, che far degg'io?

Farasmane

Figlio, sii forte, in questa
tenzon, falsa pietà vil non ti renda.

Pensa che il nobil sangue
non dei macchiar, né la mia vita io chiedo
con un tuo disonore:
né perch'io sia prigion, perché infelice,
son meno re. L'esser felice e grande
dipende da fortuna,
ma l'onore, in cui solo
tutto il ben si comprende,
dal nostro oprare e da noi sol dipende.

Radamisto

Ma s'io salvar ti posso,
come nol deggio, o padre?

Farasmane

Salva il tuo onor, ché il viver mio non curo.

"Con la tua libertà l'iniquo aspira
"Al possesso, all'amor della tua sposa.

Zenobia
Non lo speri, il lascivo,
ché prima di mirar si ria sciagura,
ho petto anch'io che può soffrir la morte.
Radamisto
Ah ch'io non l'ho per rimirar la tua.
Son figlio... *Rivolto al padre*
Farasmane
No, per figlio io ti ricuso,
già che sei sì codardo.
Fraarte
Di risolvere ormai maturo è il tempo.
Farasmane
Fraarte, a me rivolgi il crudo ferro:
in questo seno il rio comando adempi.

Tigrane
Hé quoi! j'aurais le coeur de vous voir ravir l'âme?
Orosmane
Regarde si je tremble en voyant cette lame.
Phraarte *Il feint de frapper.*
Ah! c'est trop.
Tigrane
Assassin, arrête, je me rends.
Orosmane
L'honneur te le défend, et je te le défends.
Va mourir sur la brèche où l'honneur te demande.
Tigrane
Me le commandez-vous?
Orosmane
Oui, je te le commande.
Tigrane
Il faut donc obéir.
Orosmane
Achève, achève-moi.
Phraarte *Il dit ce vers à part:*
Le visage des Rois imprime de l'effroi.
Aux armes, Compagnons.
Tigrane
Mes Citoyens, aux armes.
Polixène
Dieux! épargnez le sang, et payez-vous de larmes.
Phraarte *Il regarde derrière le théâtre.*
Courage, mes amis, avancez, avancez.
Un garde
La première phalange est au bord des fossés.
Phraarte
A l'assaut!
Tigrane
A la mort!
Orosmane
Meurs en fils d'Orosmane,
Comme je vais mourir en père de Tigrane.

[*Un soldato si pone in atto di vibrare un dardo per uccidere Farasmane*]
Fraarte
Olà, si sveni!
Radamisto
Ah, ferma!
Zenobia
Radamisto, che pensi,
darmi forse al tiranno?
Del padre io già rimiro
l'inevitabil morte,
"la città debellata, e noi prigioni,
ecco, un solo rimedio
a tanto mal propongo.
Radamisto
E qual mai questo fia?
Zenobia
La morte mia. Deh vieni io là t'aspetto
ove dell'alta reggia
è il più racchiuso loco,
mentre non vuo' che a' tuoi guerrieri avanti
usi un atto, mio sposo,
che parer può crudel quand'è pietoso.

Son contenta di morire
crude stelle, astri tiranni
per placar tanto furor;
Fate pur che le vostr'ire
a me colmino d'affanni!
Ché la morte
darà fine al lor rigor.
Son contenta...

I,vi (ix in the 1712 libretto)

Farasmane
Seguila, o figlio [...]

accepted Lalli's enlargement of the original *a parte* in order to create suspense (Ex. 7.2). The cadences at the end of the interventions of Zenobia, Radamisto and Farasmane underline the interpolative nature of their *a parte* and slow down the fast pace of Tigrane's opening address to the guards (bb. 5-12)

Radamisto's exclamation 'A qual sorte funesta...' taking over Tigrane's chord is of a different nature. The effect of Tigrane's speech, which leaves the worst until the end, was borrowed from Scudéry and the delay in the delivery of the cruel message is conveyed by the weak cadence on the words 'ei vuole ch'io dia l'ultimo assalto' (bb. 22-23). Why does Tigrane continue with that mysterious 'ma pria'? Has he not finished when he says that if Radamisto does not surrender he will attack the city? The conclusive cadence on 'il padre tuo s'uccida' eventually makes Radamisto see the light (bb. 24-25). Radamisto's tormented and descending exclamation is followed by the three key words of the whole opera which summarise the conflicts that have torn apart all the characters: honour, nature, love; all three are underlined by separating rests and a change of chord - at least in the December revival (bb. 27-28). In both versions, however, the tormented melodic line of Radamisto's recitative expresses with considerable strength the conflict he is experiencing because of these three moral imperatives.

Radamisto is about to surrender when Zenobia intervenes by resuming Polixène's words of the preceding scene (in Scudéry, she is absent at this point) 'Quoi! vous croyez, Signeur, que...', changed into 'Radamisto, che pensi? darmi forse al tiranno?'. Handel's recitative serves Zenobia's intention to rouse Radamisto out of his indecision and thereby to make him accept the most honourable and painful solution to all their misery. She first stirs him by calling him by name; the melodic line, which had descended to underline Radamisto's surrender, now rises correspondingly. With short, effective rhetorical questions, emphasised by a change of chord on each and an imperfect cadence on the last (bb. 36-38), Zenobia glides over the painful truth of

Farasmane's imminent end. The tonic pedal and the almost static melodic line around B flat isolate this statement from the rest of the speech and support Zenobia's prophetic pose of staring into the future (where she sees the death of Farasmane) (bb. 39-41). She returns to the present with the sudden change into C major on 'ecco' (b. 41), and raises Radamisto's hopes with the possibility of a solution, although she waits until the very end to disclose what this solution actually is. The G sharp (the leading note anticipating resolution onto the tonic A) in Radamisto's question, however, tells us that he has already sensed the worst, a presentiment confirmed by Zenobia's words 'la morte mia' (in A minor) (bb. 44-45). The static harmony and the descending melodic line interspersed with rests reveal Zenobia's distress. With the unexpected leap of a minor sixth over a diminished seventh harmony at the end of her speech (bb. 52-53), Handel is not simply amplifying the word 'crudel', but is reading between the lines. What she is really saying is: 'this is a cruel, pitiless, atrocious fate', and this is what she cries out in her overwhelming aria 'Son contenta di morire'. Farasmane's words 'Seguila, oh figlio!' suggest the action on stage, establish the leading role of Zenobia and frame the couple's first appearance, which had opened with Radamisto's words 'Ove seguir mi vuoi, sposa infelice?'.

Lalli's mediation between French drama and Italian opera proved important for Handel. The librettist reinforced the heroic character of the subject and, through the reduction of Farasmane's and Polissena's weight in the drama, placed greater emphasis on the couple Radamisto and Zenobia. In particular, Lalli strengthened the heroic traits of the male hero by reducing the references to suicide and manipulating Scudéry's text.[35] The dialogue between Radamisto and his sister Polissena in II,ix (Florence,

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[35] It is worth mentioning that Francesco Feo, who set the same libretto (the 1710 version) in 1713, decided to further enhance the pathetic aspects of the subject. A simple comparison between Handel's and Feo's settings of Polissena's opening aria 'Sommi Dei' for example, would highlight the emphasis placed by Feo upon 'mi lagnerò' (cut by Handel-Haym) and the corresponding musical expression.

1712)[36] which corresponds to Scudéry's IV,vi, constitutes a perfect example. Scudéry's dialogue was largely retained, often faithfully translated into Italian, and included Polissena's moral imperatives of *amour de pays*, *amour d'un père*, *honneur*, *nature*, love for *un barbare*, *infame*, *tyran*, *mais époux*. Lalli cut the first forty-two lines in which Radamisto tries to arouse his sister's pity by referring to her devotion for her family and her country. The librettist then moved Radamisto's apostrophe to the end of the scene and transformed it into a violent invective against Polissena which was eventually to effect the queen's actions. In the French model, there is a sudden decrease of pathos marked by Radamisto's resignation:

> *Tigrane*
> [...]
> Oui, puisque, c'est au Ciel que ma perte est écrite,
> Puisque pour me l'ôter le sort la [Polixène] ressuscite,
> Puisque tout m'abandonne en l'état où je suis,
> Puisqu'une ingrate soeur se rit de mes ennuis,
> Puisqu'elle veut mon sang, puisqu'elle le demande,
> Mourons; mais, justes Dieux, je vous la recommande.[37]

This culminates in Radamisto's imprisonment and his attempted suicide. Lalli, by contrast, increased the dramatic tension with Radamisto's violent address to Polissena, a forceful and effective monologue that Lalli was to re-use in *L'Amor di figlio non conosciuto* or *Tigrane* (1715). Radamisto's invective reaches its climax in the aria. Handel cut most of Lalli's apostrophe, but retained the substitution of the original aria 'Vanne e fa ch'io cada esangue' for the even more incisive 'Vanne sorella ingrata' - incisive both in metre and musical setting - which effectively summarises Radamisto's cut *peroratio*:

Interesting differences are also evident between Radamisto's aria 'Vanne e fà ch'io cada esangue' by Feo, and Handel's new aria 'Vanne sorella ingrata'.
[36] *L'amor tirannico* (Venice, 1710), III,vii; *Radamisto* (London, 1720), II,ix.
[37] Scudéry, *L'amour tyrannique*, IV,vi:1375-1380, pp. 579-80.

Radamisto
Morir per un tiranno,
per chi offende egualmente
la natura e l'amore?
per chi tien Farasmane infra catene?
per chi insulta il mio onore?
per chi vuol la mia morte?
Temer per lui? tu amare
un barbaro, un infame?
[...]
vanne, corri al tuo sposo,
rivela al tuo tiranno
che Radamisto è qui, digli che ascoso
porto nel seno il ferro,
che cerco di svenarlo e dissetarmi
nell'indegno suo sangue.
Vattene, corri, e sia
questa la tua pietà, la morte mia.

cut by Haym

Vanne, sorella ingrata,
vanne e rapisci a morte
quel barbaro consorte,
che te tradisce ancor.
Se mi vedrà morire,
e' ne saprà gioire,
quel tuo spietato cor.[38]

I believe that the undeniable virtues of *L'amor tirannico* which appealed to Handel and to the Academy directors were, to a large degree, the result of Scudéry's influence. However, the fact that Lalli improved upon his model, for example by observing the *liaison de présence*, suggests that certain structural elements in common with French dramaturgy had become integral to the art of libretto writing by 1710. With its dependence on French theatre for themes and dramaturgy and its fidelity to the Italian tradition as far as certain *topoi*, stage decorations and dramatic pace were concerned, *L'amor tirannico* was indeed one of the best examples of the latest achievements in Italian opera (despite minor dramaturgical weaknesses). The stringent dramatic unity, created by centring on the conflict between love and duty, and the focus

[38] Lalli-Haym, *Radamisto* (1720), II,vii.

on characters rather than plot, namely the interest not so much in 'what happens to the characters' as in 'how they react' to what happens to them, were even more important features of the reform libretto. Well before Metastasio, these innovations were shared by Lalli's other contemporaries considered in this study - Antonio Salvi, Agostino Piovene, Pietro Pariati and Apostolo Zeno - whose *drammi per musica* were, like *Amor tirannico*, skilfully modelled upon successful French tragedies.

Conclusion

The reader will have certainly noticed dissimilarities between the foregoing chapters in the way in which specific works have been discussed and the greater or lesser emphasis that has each time been placed on different aspects of libretto writing, subject, dramaturgy, characterisation, scenography and music. I never approached the study of a new *dramma* knowing exactly how much space I was going to devote to certain aspects of the work; I have always allowed the text and the music to influence my decisions to follow the thread of a theme, to dwell on specific scenes, or to explore the music of a recitative or of single arias. What binds these discussions together is the common comparative approach to the study of the operatic product and the constant attempt to maintain a rhetorical-theatrical-musical perspective.

The identification of librettists' rhetorical and dramaturgical procedures has shown their variable concern for literary standards, theatrical effectiveness and the demands of the music. This has enabled us to observe the diverse roles that music was allowed to play in the drama and, in particular, to assess the function of the aria - the element that most attracted the complaints of librettists and the interest of composers, performers and audiences alike. The aria was ultimately what most distinguished *dramma per musica* from spoken drama. The different ways in which poets have dealt with the presence and status of the aria reflects the transformations that the libretto underwent during this period, and the growing ability of music to express and not just illustrate the drama.

The preceding analyses demonstrate that the role that music was expected to play in *dramma per musica* was much more richly diverse than modern scholars have generally assumed it to be. Music was certainly able to express and transform poetic structures, illustrate single words, concepts and abstract ideas (faithfulness, betrayed love and so forth), but it was also able to support gesture and movement on stage,

correspond to stage sets and represent ideal and imaginary places. As this study has shown, music did often perform a dramaturgical function, such as the expression of ethos (the status of the *dramatis personae*: rulers, lovers, mothers, villains) and pathos (imitation and expression of affections such as love, hatred, disdain) and, above all, enhanced the poet's strategic pursuit of pathetic effects. If Italian opera composers of the early eighteenth century did not have the means (or desire) to express horror in music and often relied on a more traditional musical behaviour (as in the setting of Invocation-like aria texts described in *Polidoro* and *Engelberta*), they certainly possessed adequate tools to implement the poet's strategy of tears. In scenes in which the poet intended, in accordance with classical theory, to arouse pity for the hero/heroine, such as for Engelberta in the scene which precedes the Empress' assassination (*Engelberta*, IV,ii), or for Andromaca, in the scene in which she expresses her harrowing doubts (*Astianatte*, II,viii), music was particularly effective in ensuring the emotional involvement of the listener. According to contemporary dramatic theory, the sympathetic response of the audience was necessary to produce the catharsis of passions and, at the same time, to ensure success on the stage.

The composer even had means at his disposal to alter the drama in ways perhaps not envisaged by the poet. Handel's enhancement of the heroic quality of *Radamisto* and his successful pursuit of a musicalisation of drama, transforming opera from a drama *with* music into a drama *through* music, is particularly noteworthy. There are examples among Italian composers, however, that are less known or perhaps overlooked. Antonio Lotti's contribution towards the lightening of the sombre atmosphere of Piovene's *tragedia per musica Polidoro* is one such example, and the three different settings of Zeno-Pariati's libretto *Engelberta* provide instances of composers' individual interpretations of the same text which modify, to a certain extent, the perception of the drama.

The nature and variable quality of the settings discussed provide additional material for further thoughts on whether the historical changes in form and content of

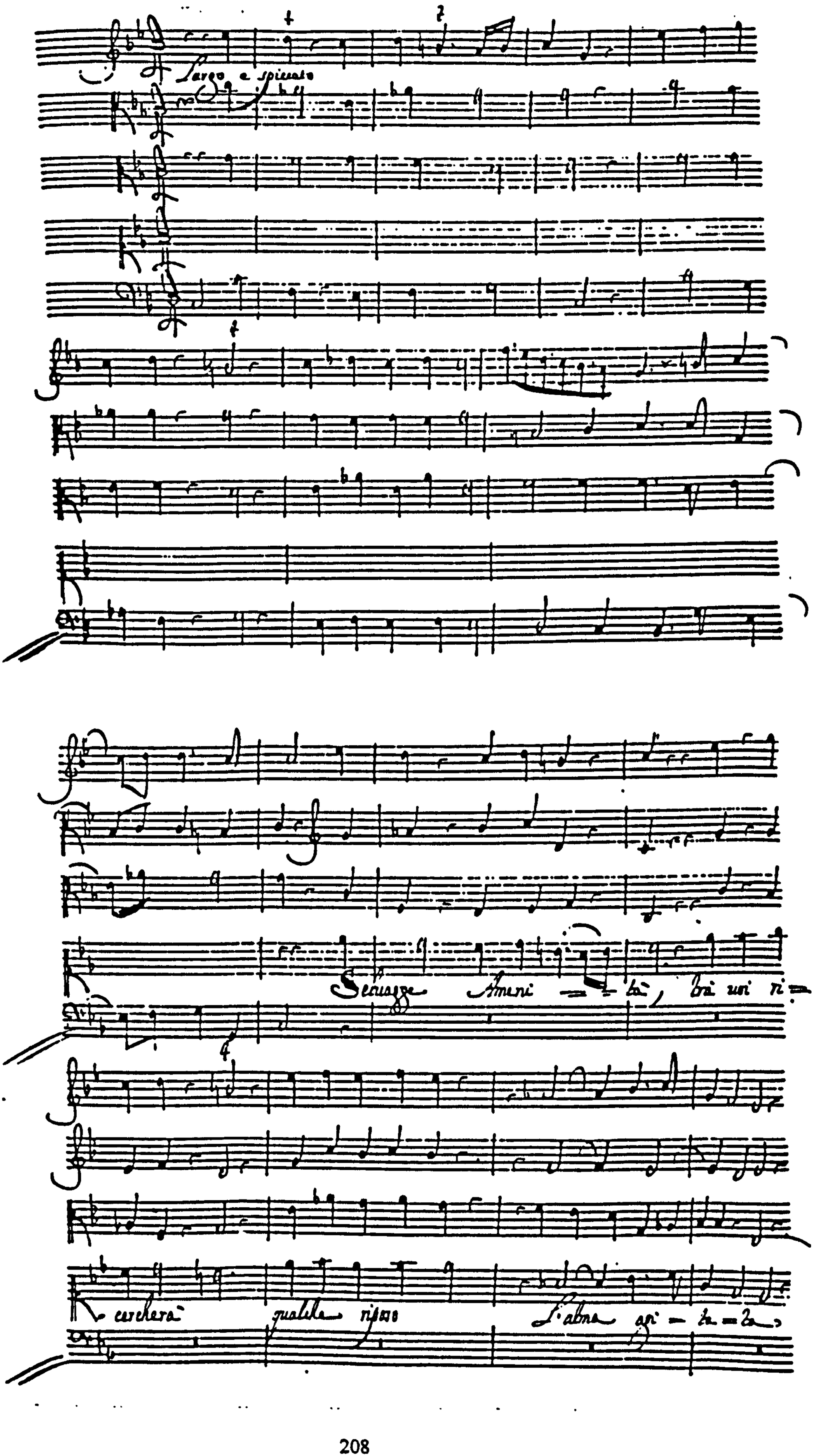
the libretto, particularly noticeable in French-based libretti, were connected with contemporary musical changes, namely in the larger proportion of arias, their harmonic complexity, the more varied thematic material employed and, in general, the less rigid relationship between poetic and musical discourse. I fear that a satisfactory answer to this question may never be found. Nevertheless, composers seem to have responded in a musically more elaborate and engaging manner to the expression of pathos and to scenes in which the poet gave the aria a dramaturgical function and achieved a dramatic climax with the singing of the aria. This may suggest that, as time went on, libretti with a simpler poetic language, a well planned and dramaturgically effective structure and a marked emphasis on characters' reactions to external events (ethos and pathos), did indeed stimulate composers to serve the drama by making the most of their musical resources. The stylistical changes in the libretto and the overall theatricality of *dramma per musica* may even have influenced the development of musical expression itself, as Reinhard Strohm first suggested in *Italienische Opernarien des frühen Settecento* (1976).

Finally, the assessment of the historical status of *dramma per musica* in Italian theatre and the evaluation of its links with other genres and practices has highlighted the new mediatory role of *dramma per musica*. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Italian literati and practitioners of the theatre attempted to produce a modern form of drama which, in opposition to the practice of improvisation of *commedia dell'arte*, was intended to be of the written kind, *dramma per musica* stood out as the major form of professional theatre in Italy that was based on entirely written texts. It made a significant contribution to the knowledge and circulation of French theatre in Italy, and due to its inherent 'theatricality' inherited from the practice of *commedia dell'arte*, was able to act as a mediator between the important but fading tradition of *commedia* and classical drama.

Appendix 1

Musical Examples

Example 3.1 Andrea Stefano Fiorè, *Engelberta* (Milan, 1708) I,ii, aria of Lodovico 'Selvagge amenità' (I-Tn G 292)



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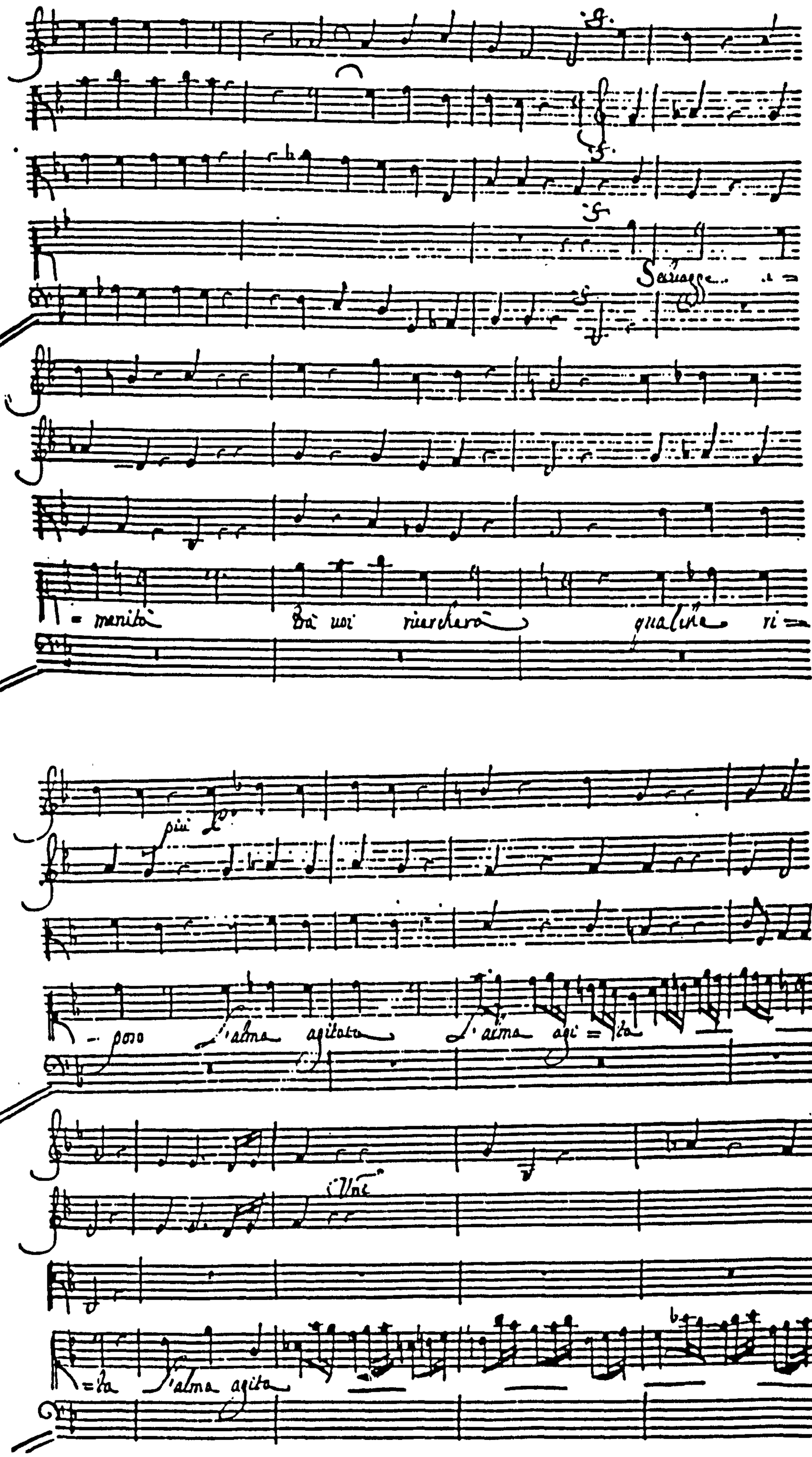
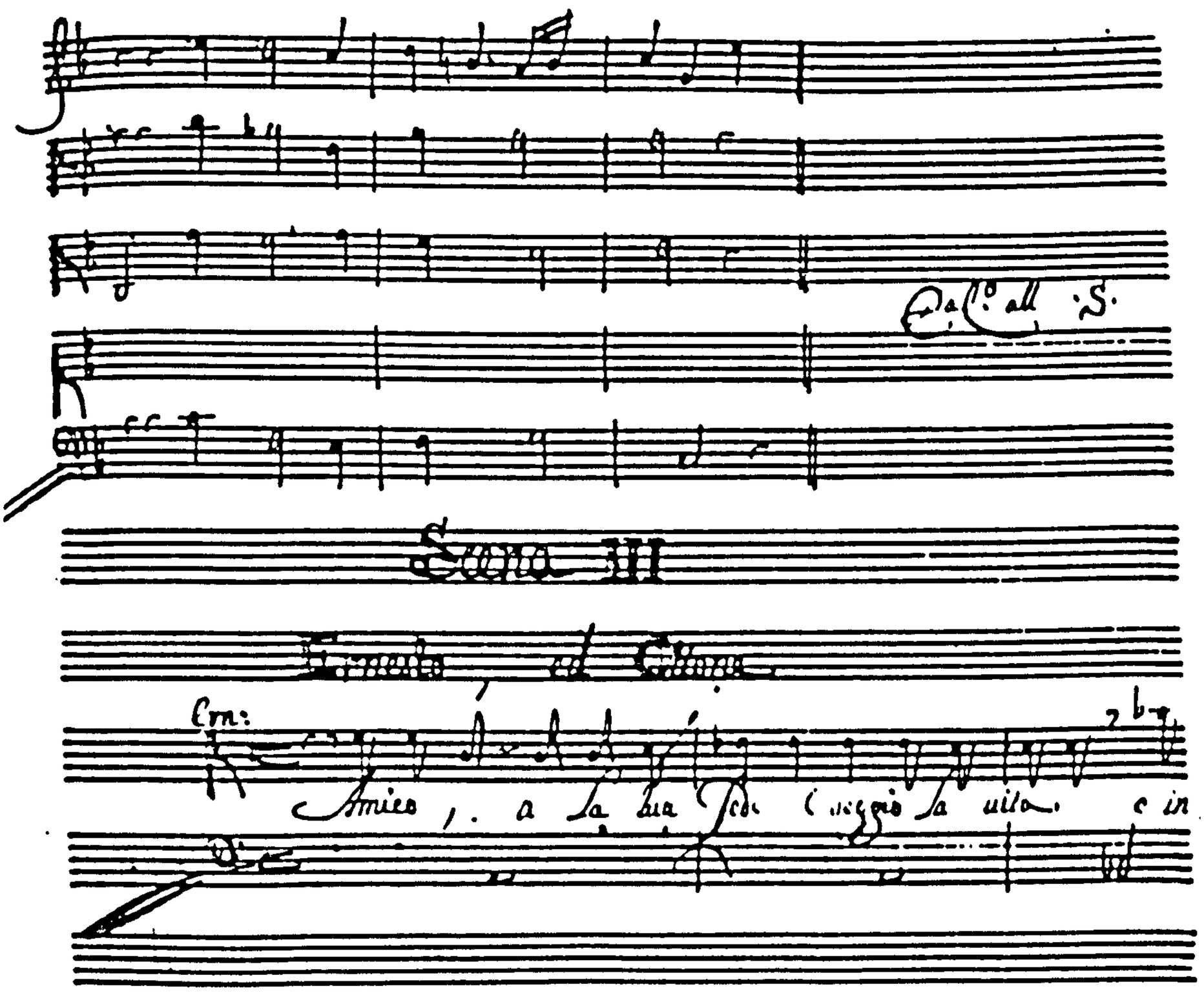

Sensuale
- meritò Ba uoi ricchero qualche ri =
più
- poco l'alma agitata l'alma agi = ta
Vne
= ta l'alma agita

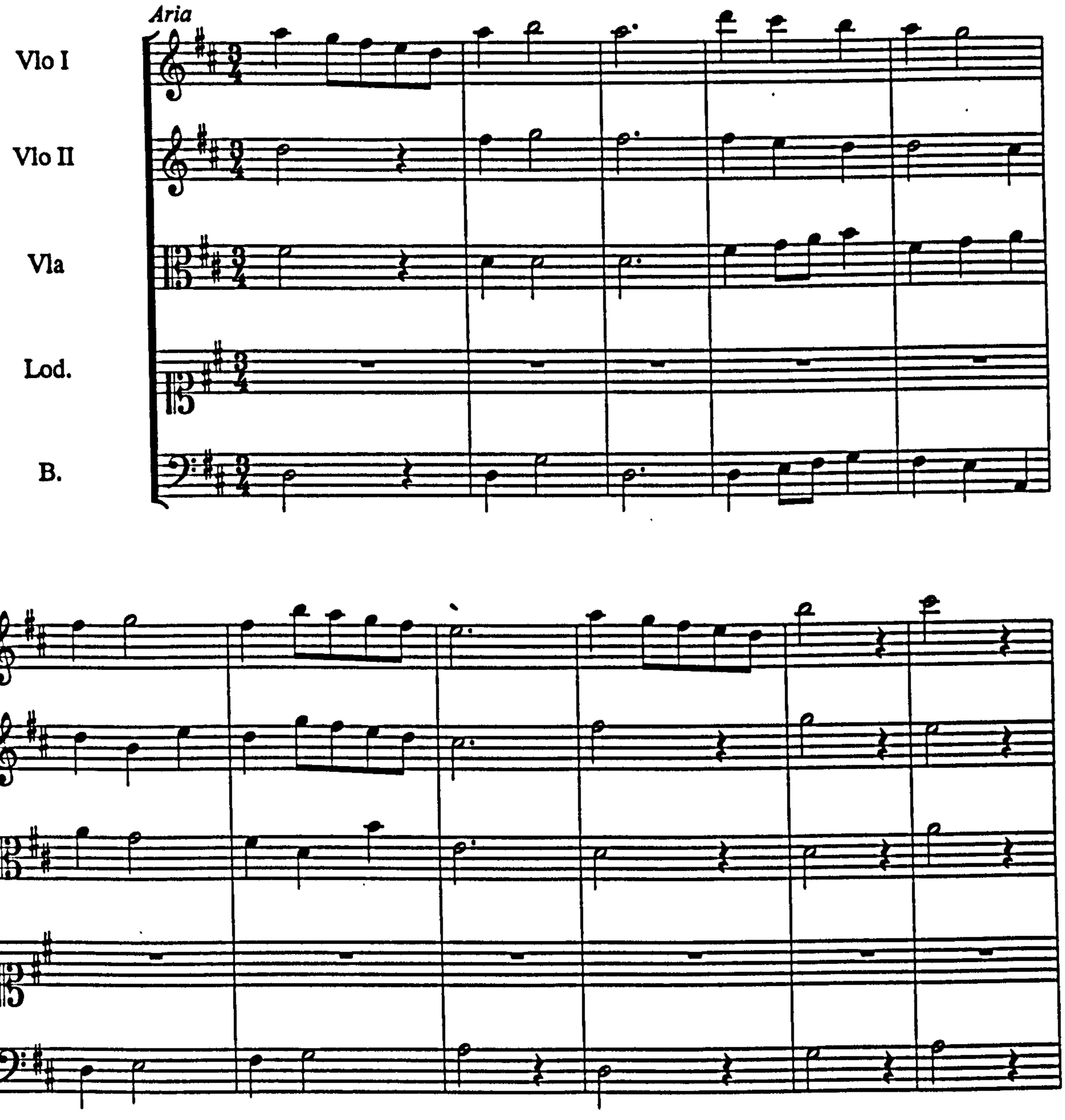
continued

Splendor de Cork
renderla illustre qui mà non bea = la mà non be-

continued



Example 3.2 Tommaso Albińoni, *Engelberta* (Venice, 1708*mv*) I,ii, aria of Lodovico 'Selvagge amenità (D-Bds 445)



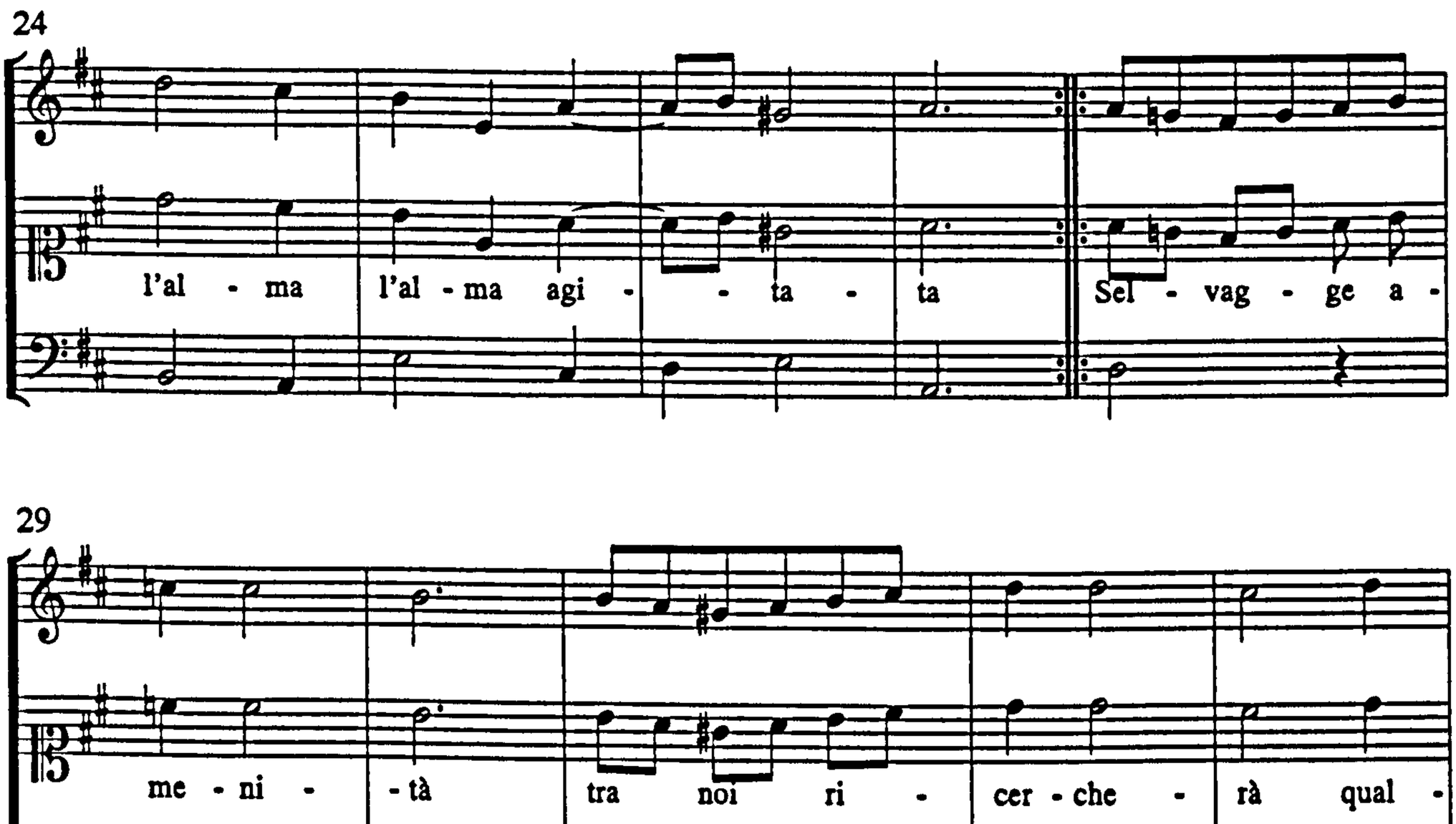
continued

12

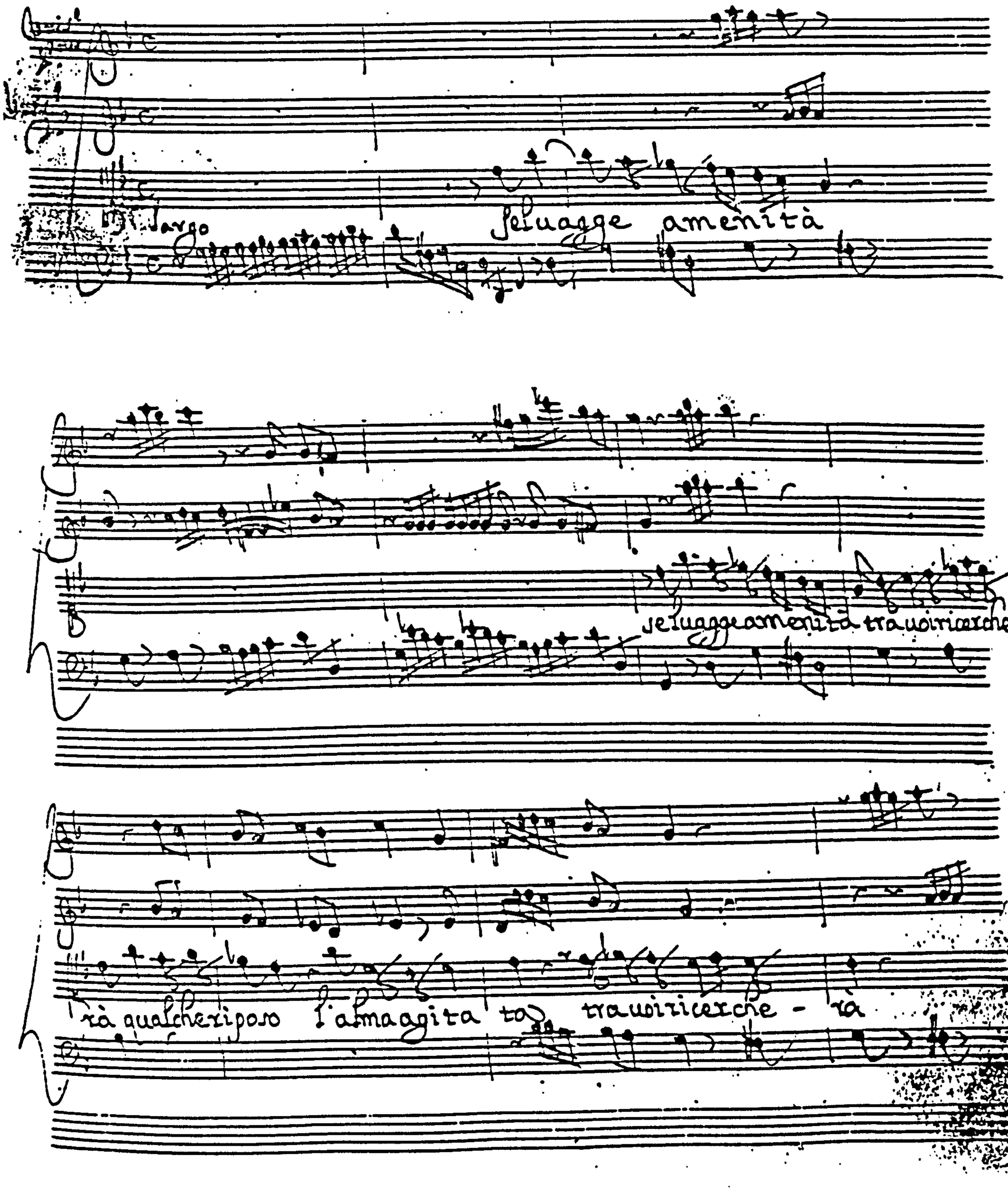
Sel - vag - ge a - me - ni -

18

- tà trà noi ri - cer - che - rà qual - che ri - po - so


24
l'al - ma l'al - ma agi - - ta - ta Sel - vag - ge a -
29
me - ni - - tà tra noi ri - cer - che - rà qual -
34
che ri - - po - - - so l'al - ma agi - ta - - ta
76

Example 3.3 Antonio Orefice, *Engelberta* (Naples, 1709) I,ii, aria of Lodovico 'Selvagge amenità (A-Wn MS 18057)



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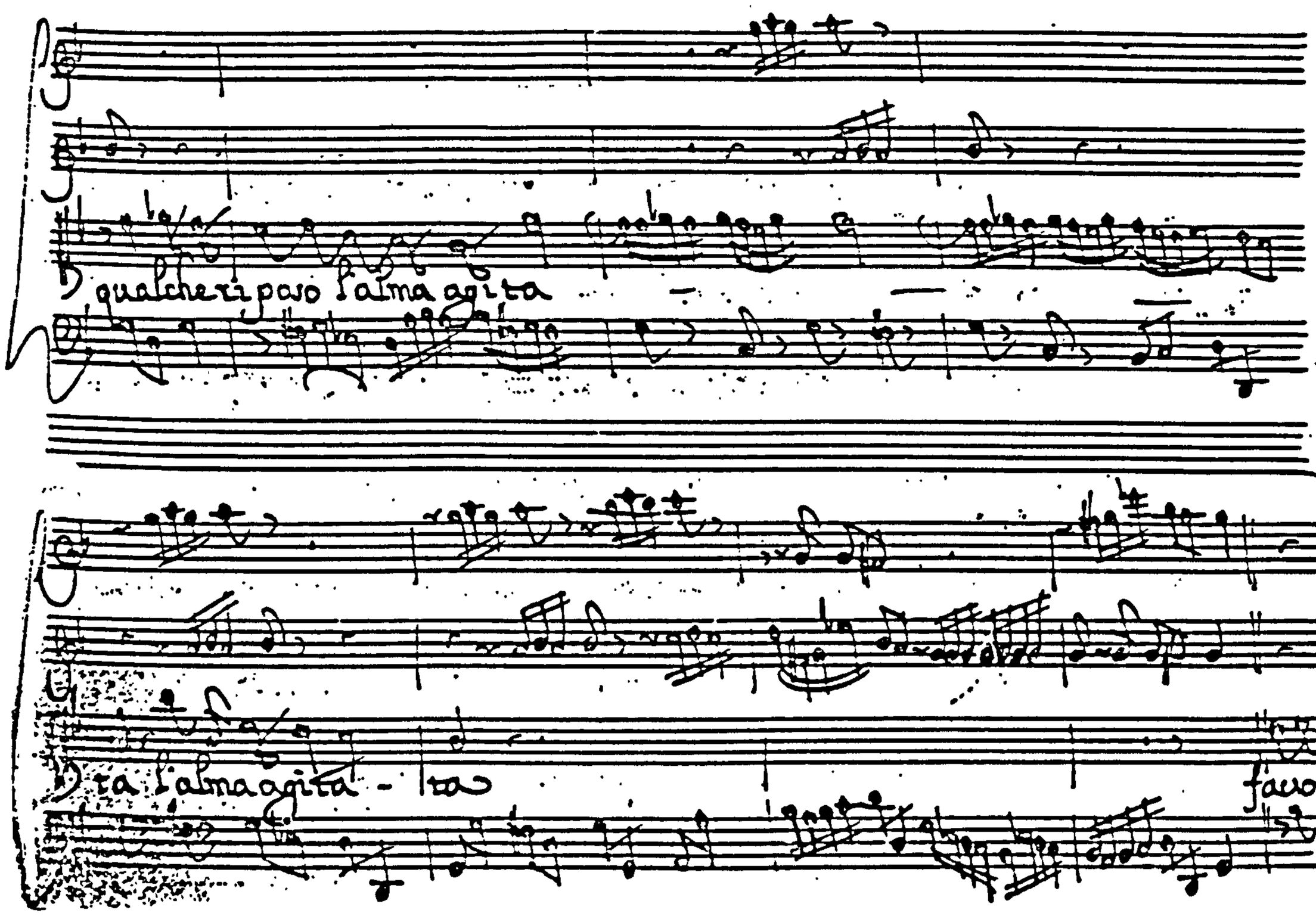
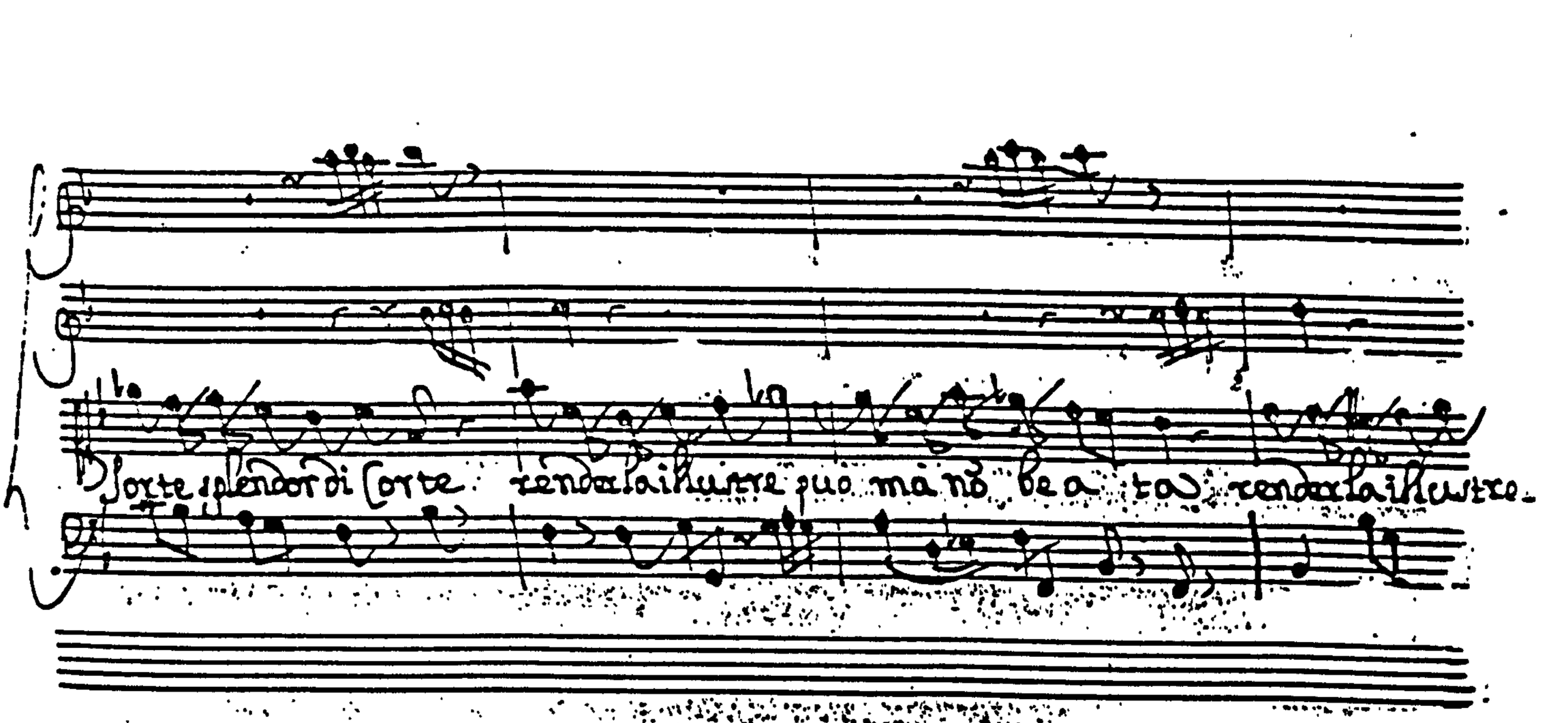
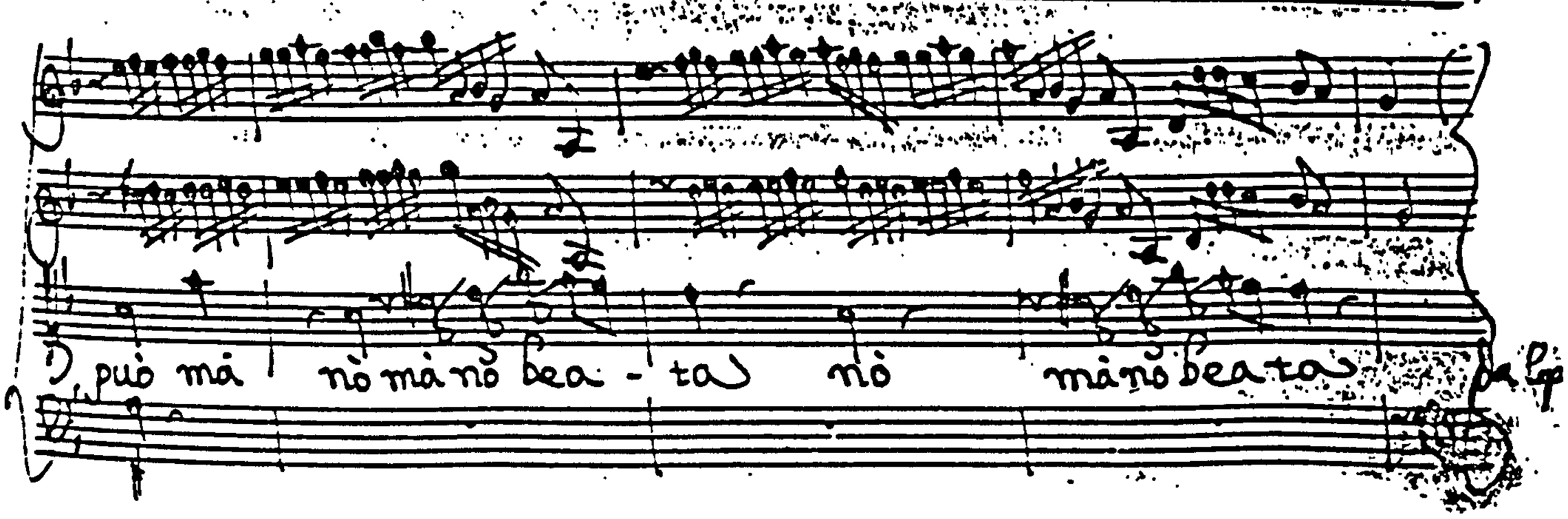
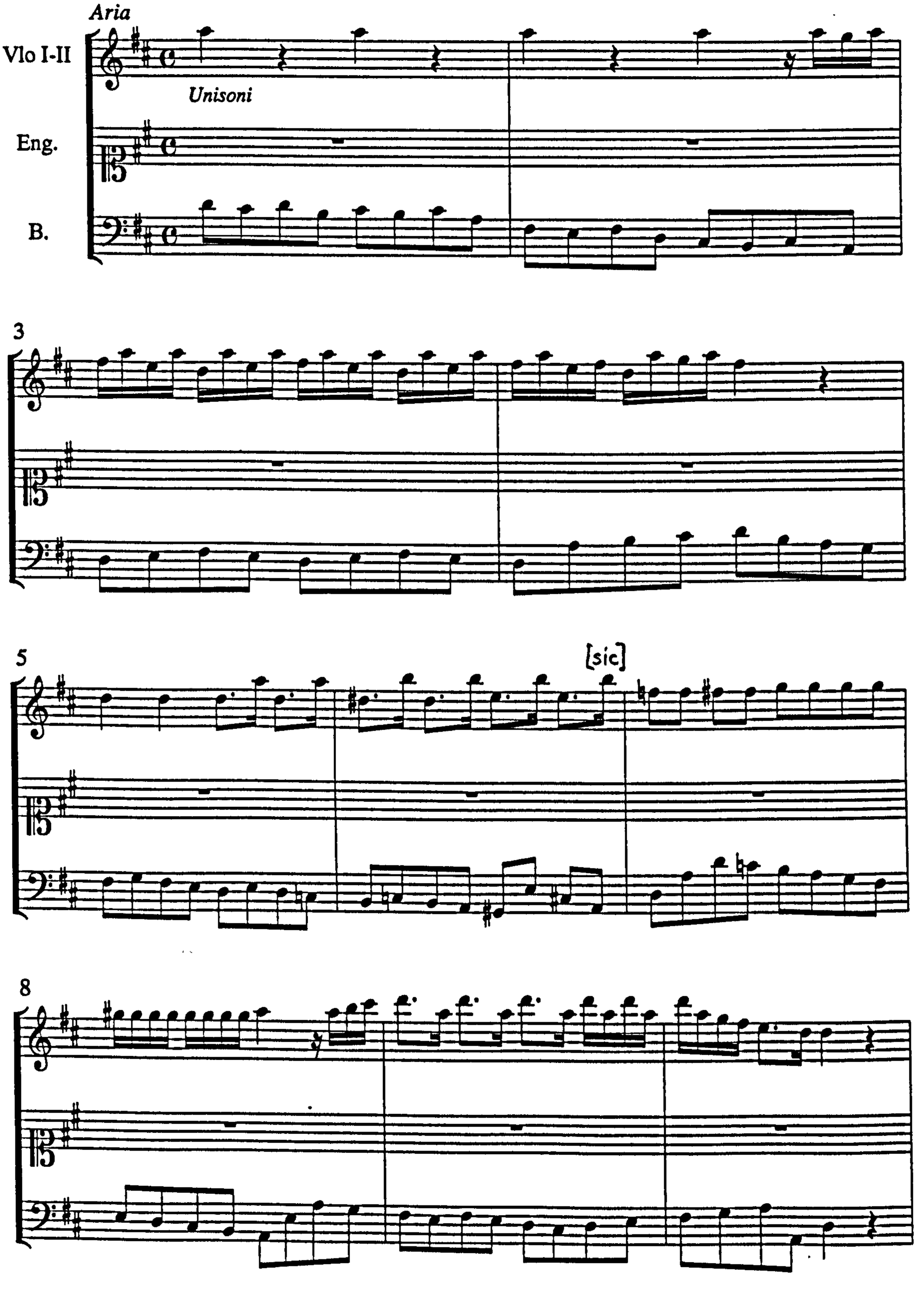

qualche ripaso l'alma agita
ta l'alma agita - tas
favori


forte splendor di Corte rendala ilustre quo ma nò be a tas rendala ilustre.


può mà nò mà nò bea - tas nò mà nò beatos

Example 3.4 Francesco Gasparini, *Engelberta* (Venice, 1708*mv*) IV,ii, aria of Engelberta 'Usignolo' (D-Bds 445)



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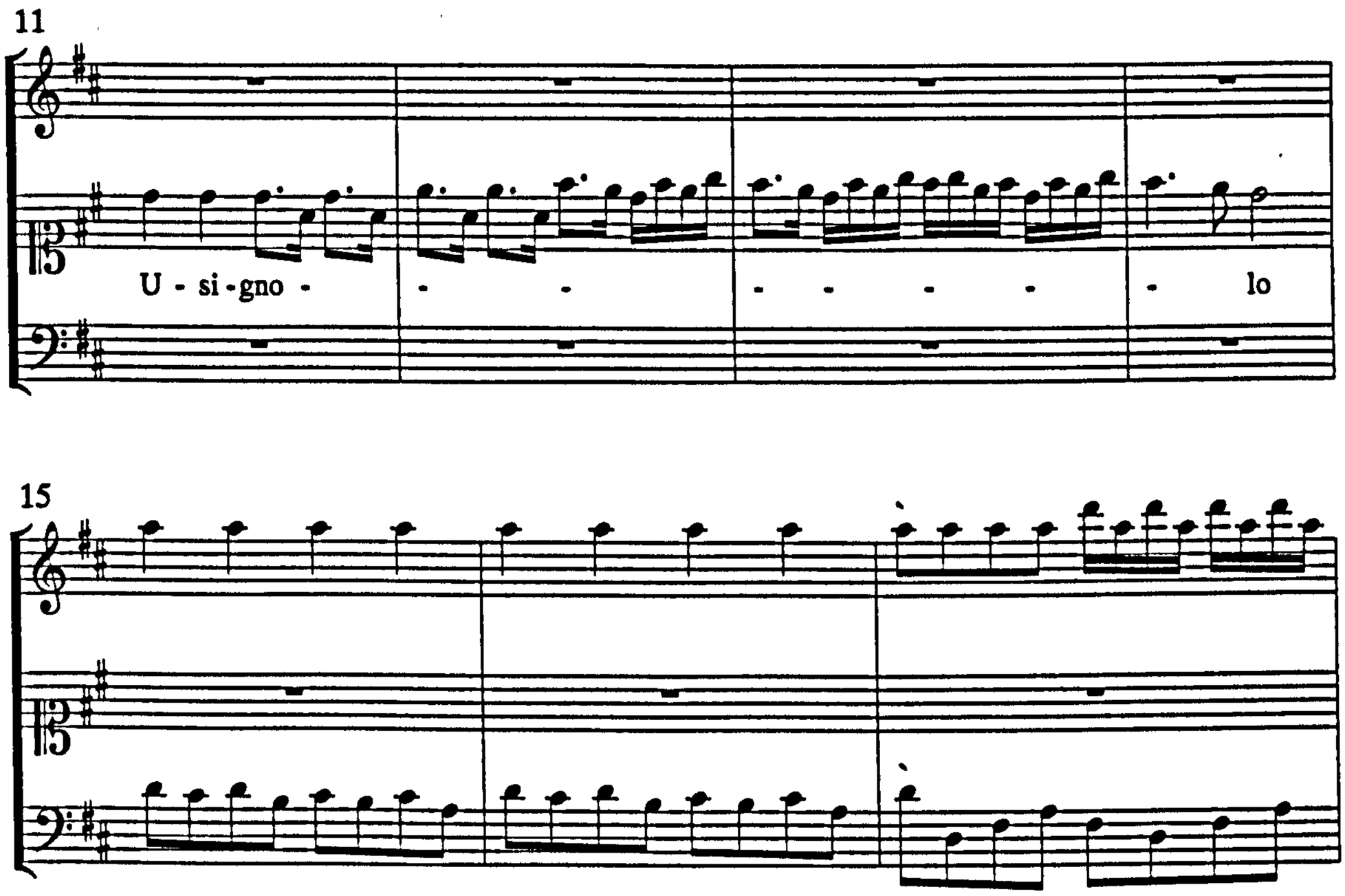

11
U - si - gno -
lo
15
18
U - si - gno - lo che col vo - lo scio - gli il
20
Can - to in ver - de ra -

22

- mi van -ne e di' tu che ben

24

a- mi al mio Spo -so il mio mar - ti- ro il mio mar - ti - -

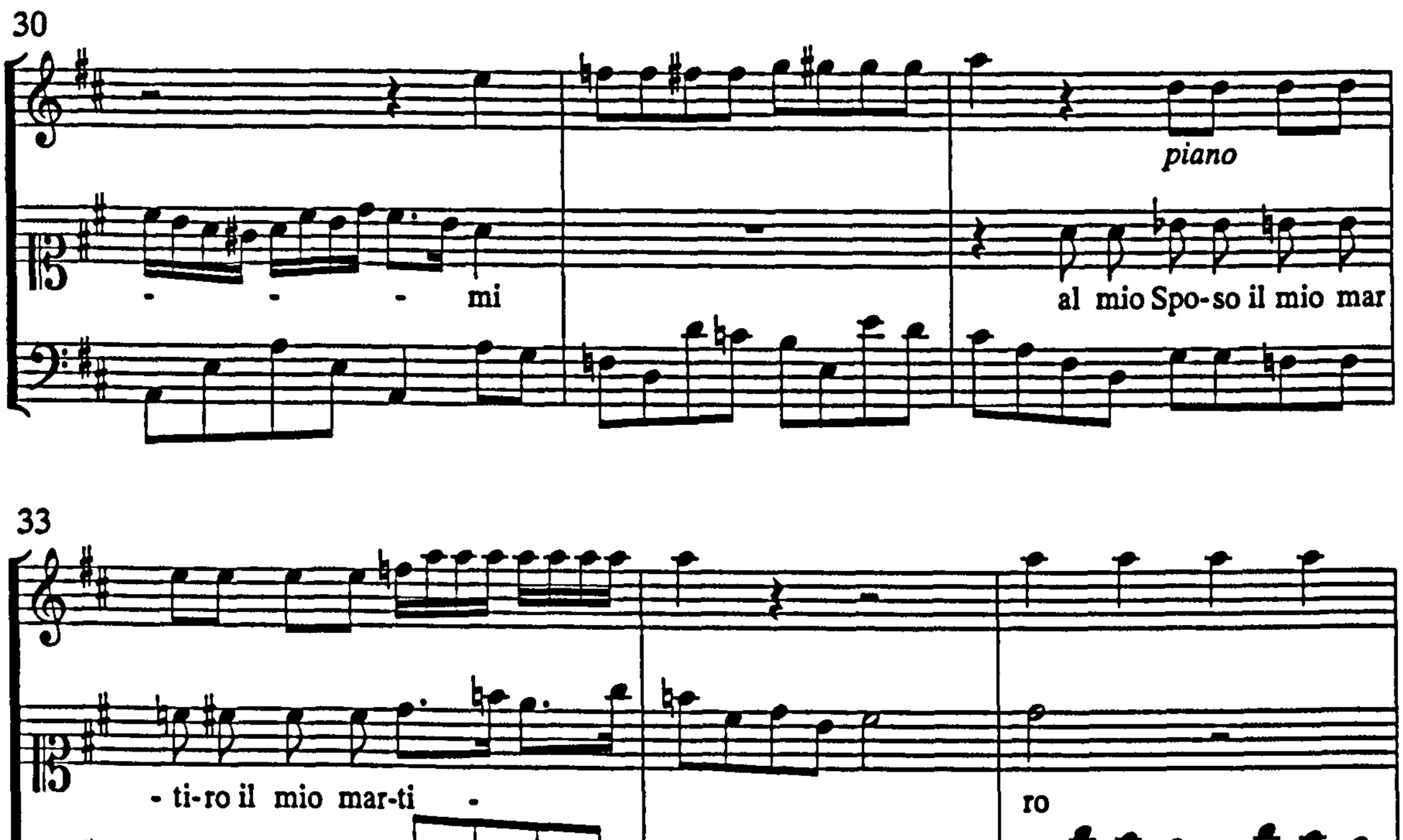
26

ro Van -ne, di'

28

di' di' tu che ben a - - -

continued



continued

41

43

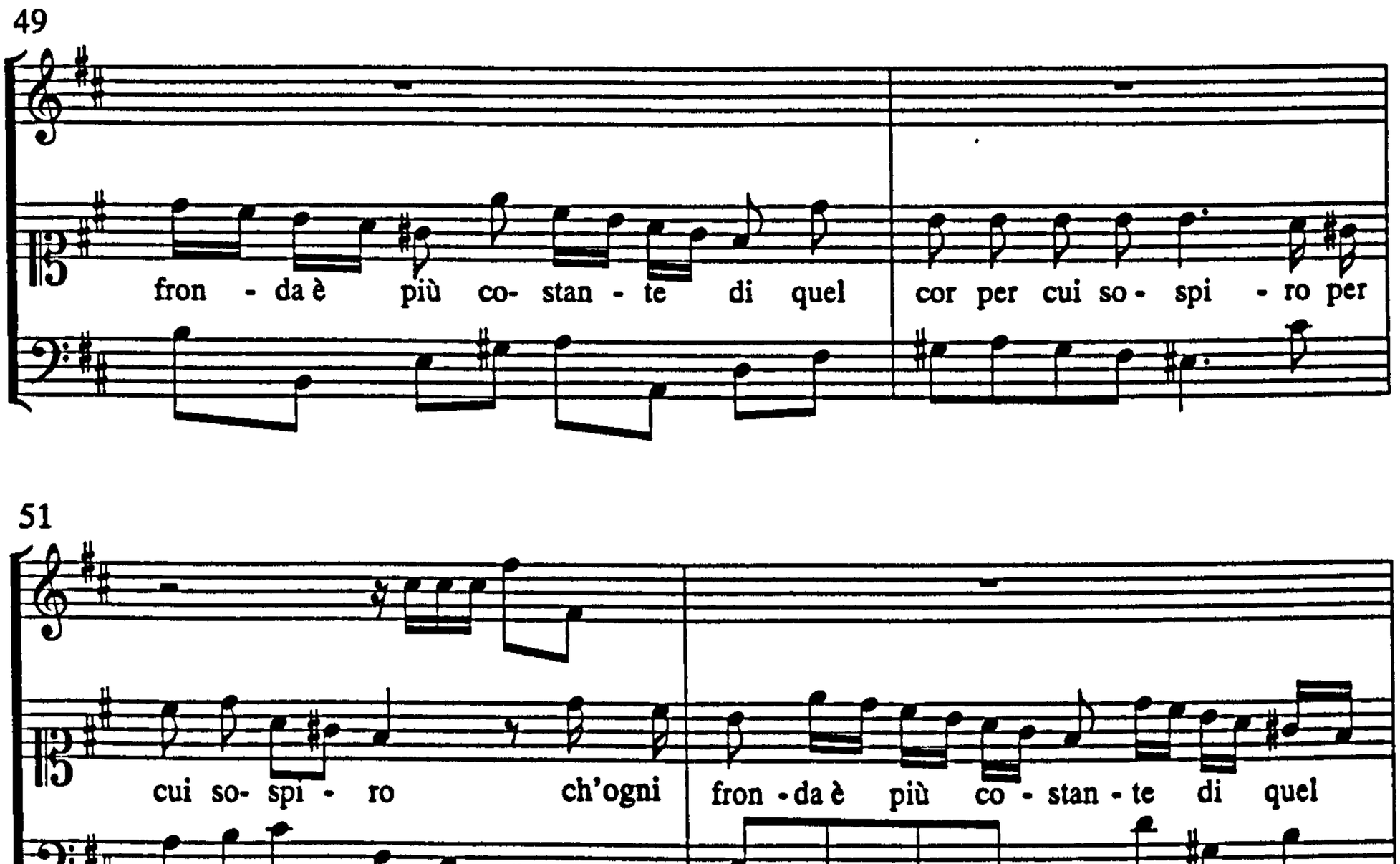
di' che ce - de al - la mia fe - de og - ni

45

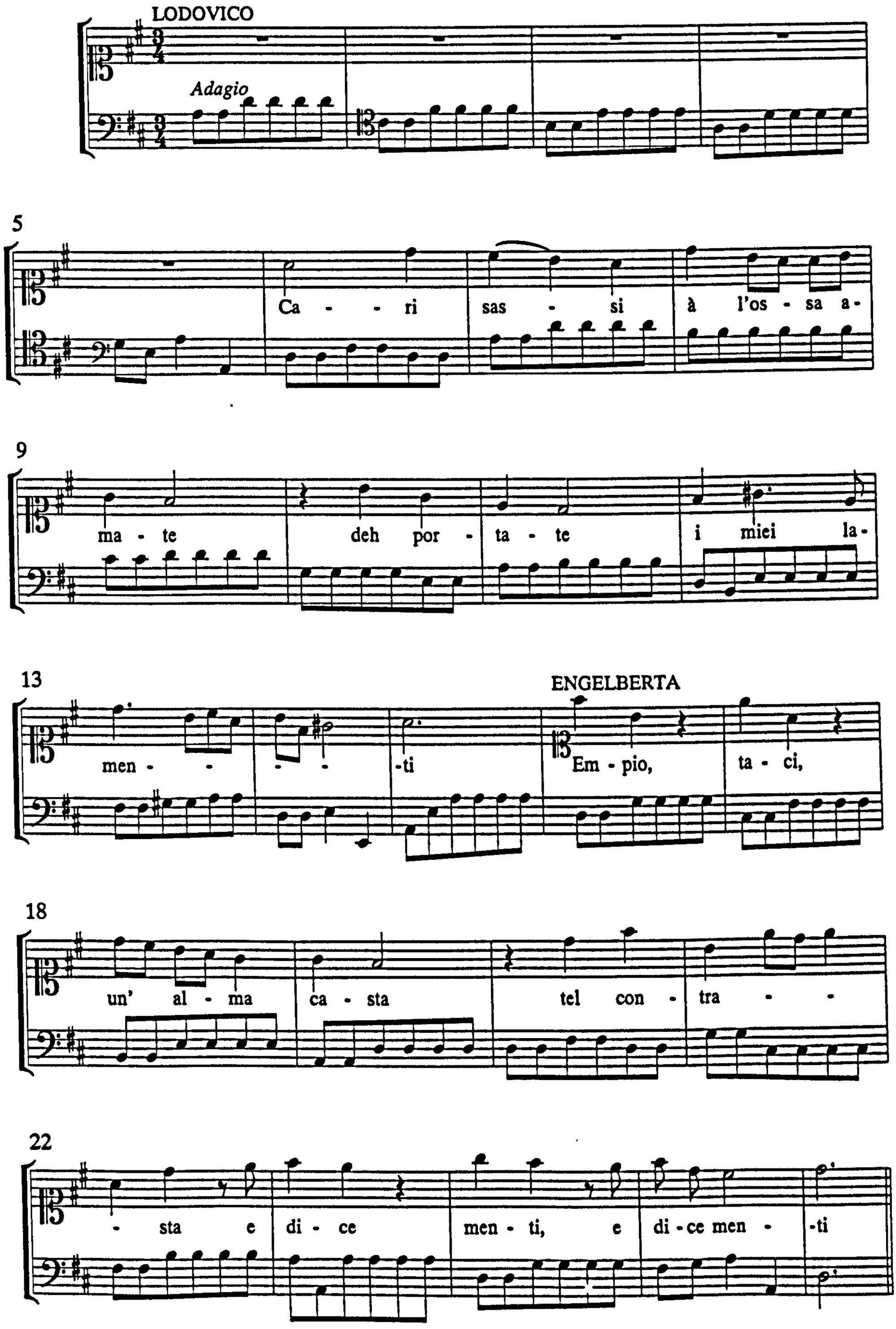
tron - co in quel - le pian - - - -

47

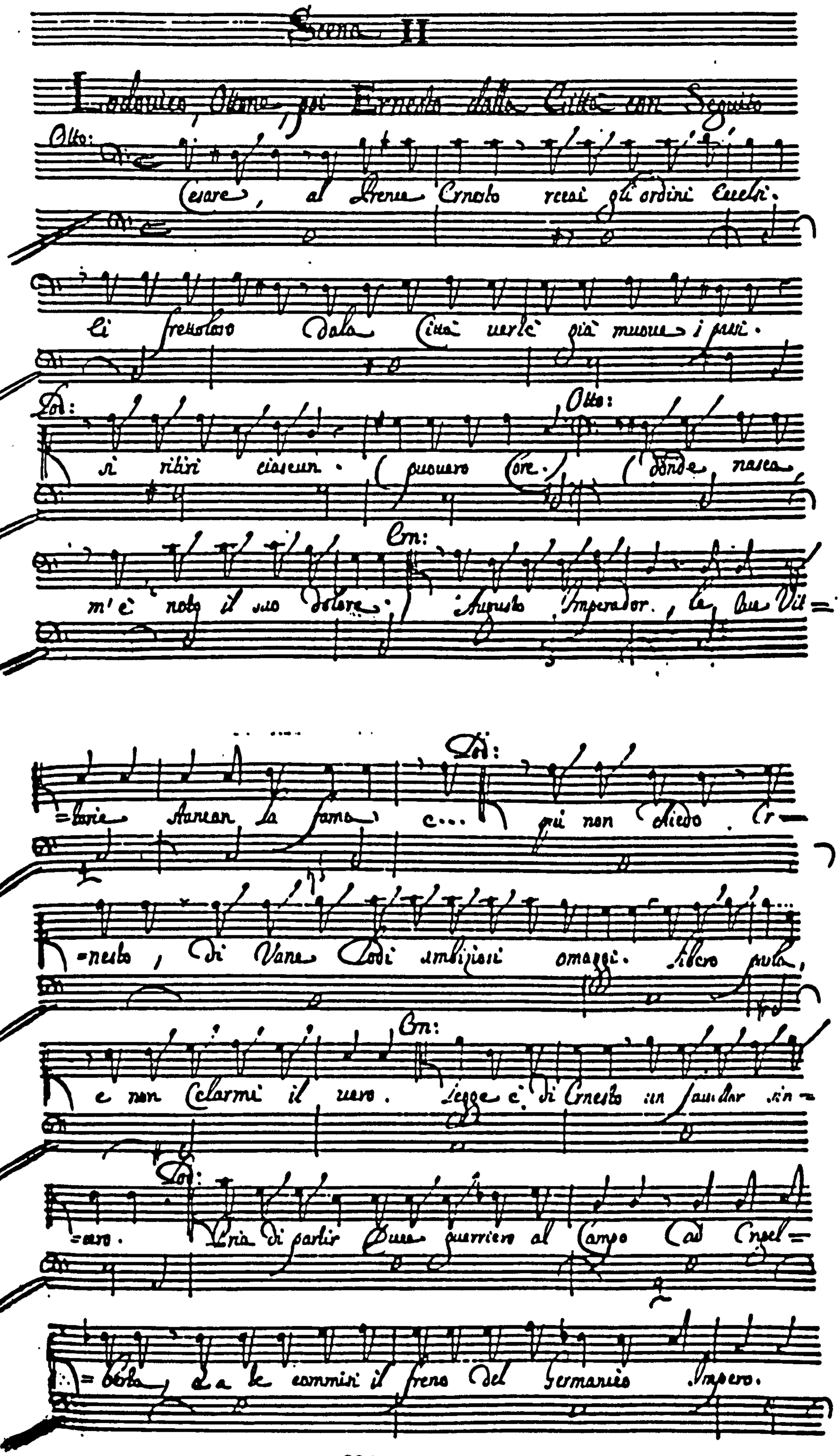
- - - te ch'ogni


49
fron - da è più co- stan - te di quel cor per cui so - spi - ro per
51
cui so- spi - ro ch'ogni fron - da è più co - stan - te di quel
53
3 3 [3]
cor per cui so - spi - ro per cui so - - spi - ro
Da Capo

Example 3.5 Gasparini, *Engelberta* (Venice, 1708*mv*) V,ii, adagio of Lodovico and Engelberta 'Cari sassi' (D-Bds 445) .



Example 3.6 Fiorè, *Engelberta* (Milan, 1708) I,ii, recitative 'Cesare, al Prence Ernesto...' (I-Tn G 292)



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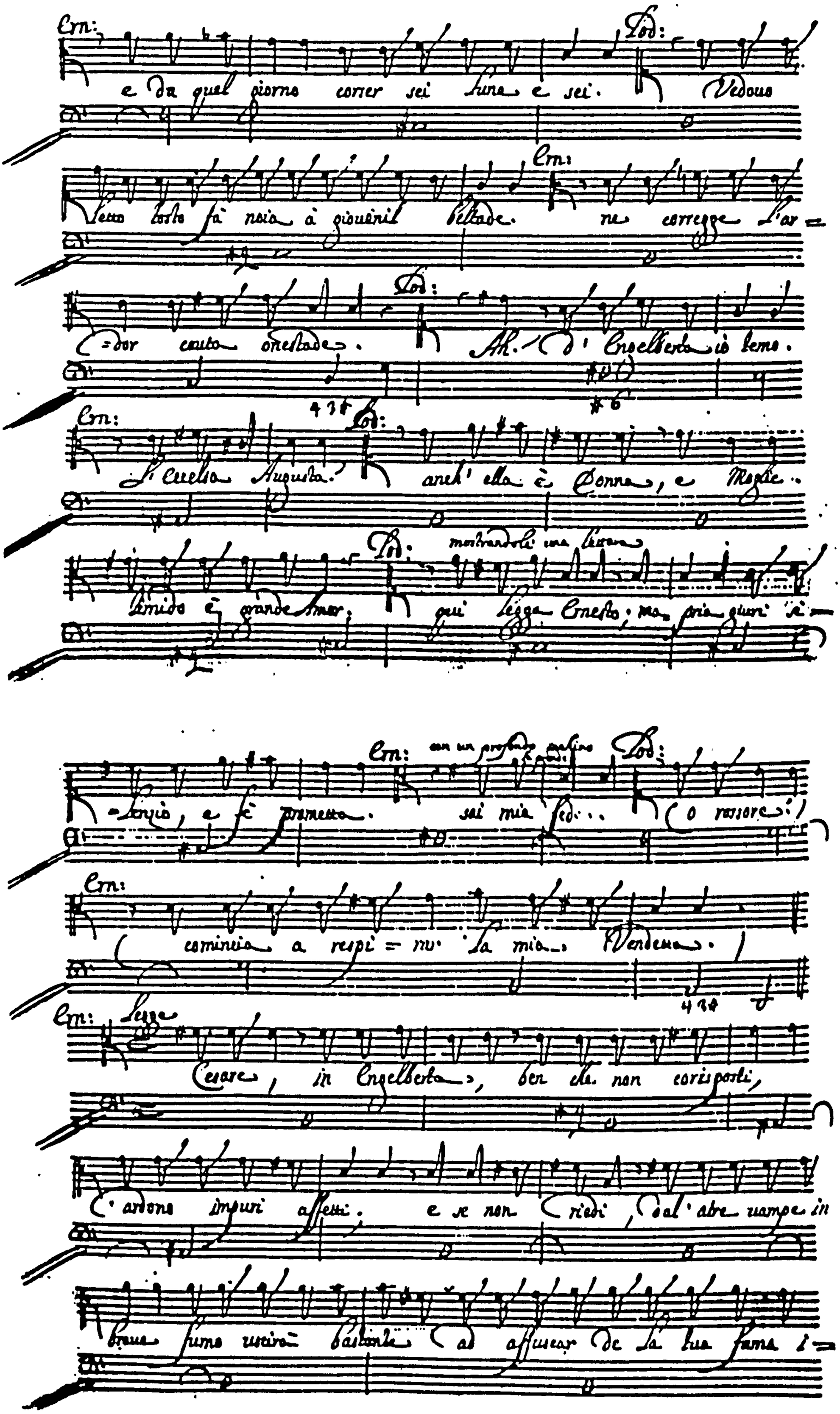
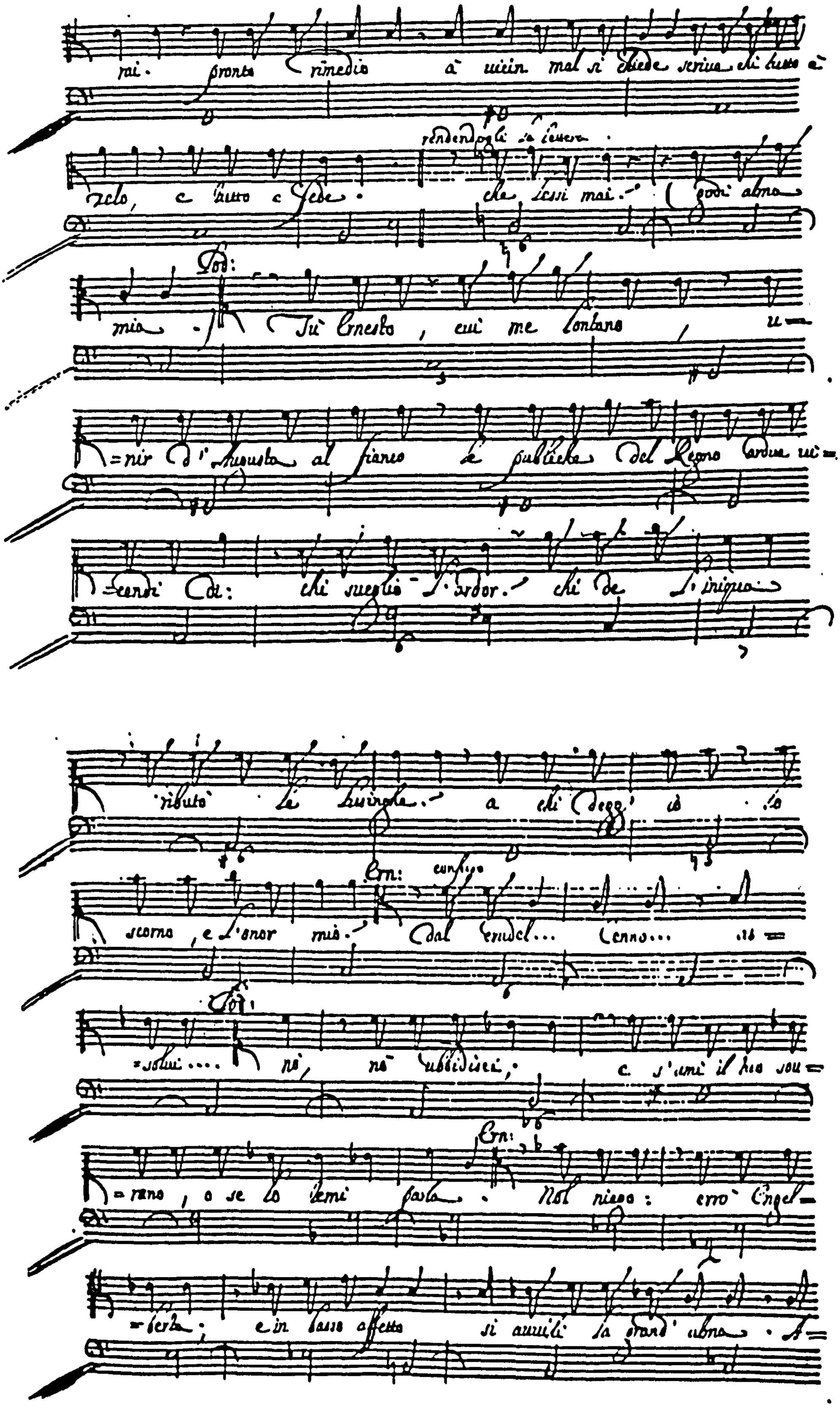
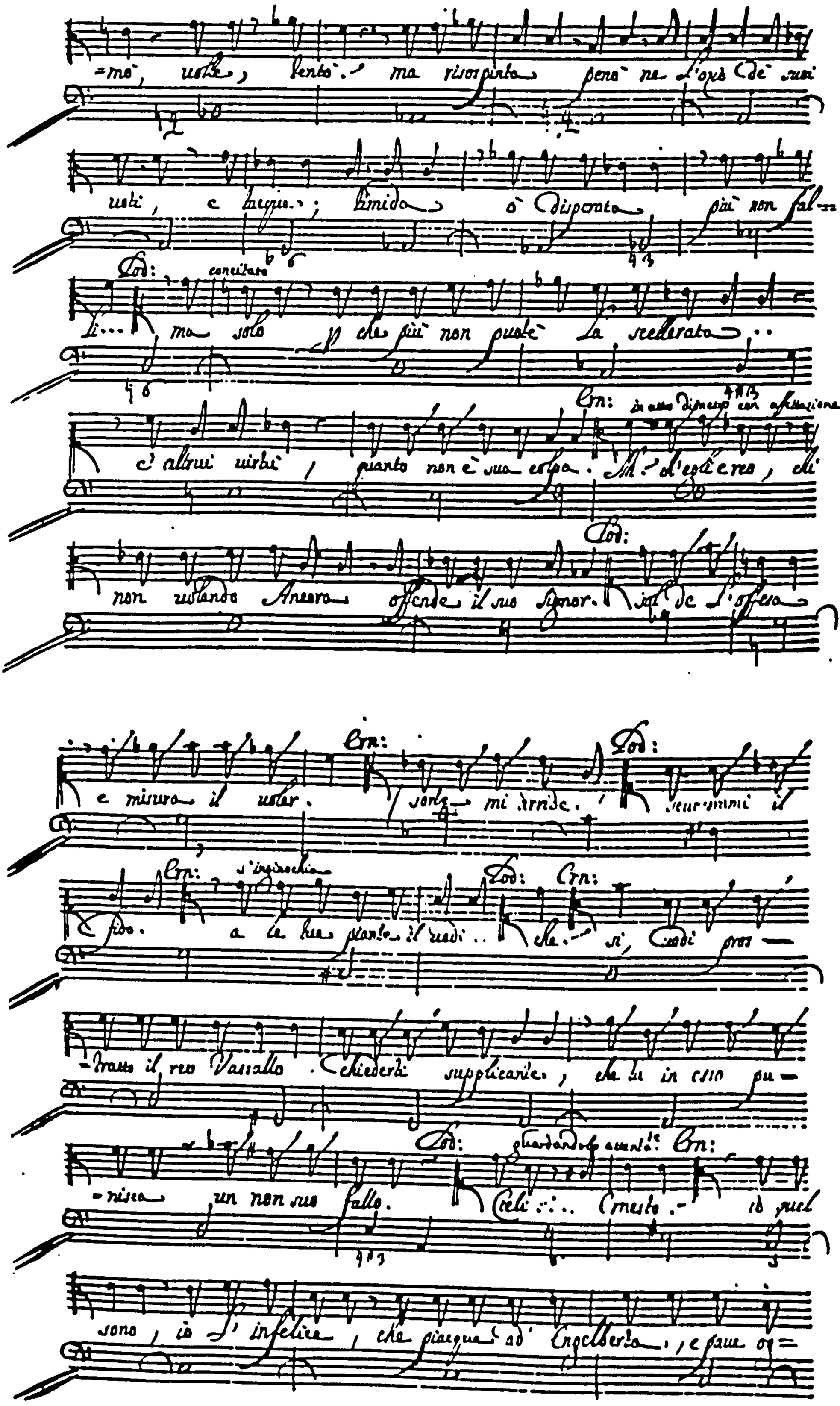
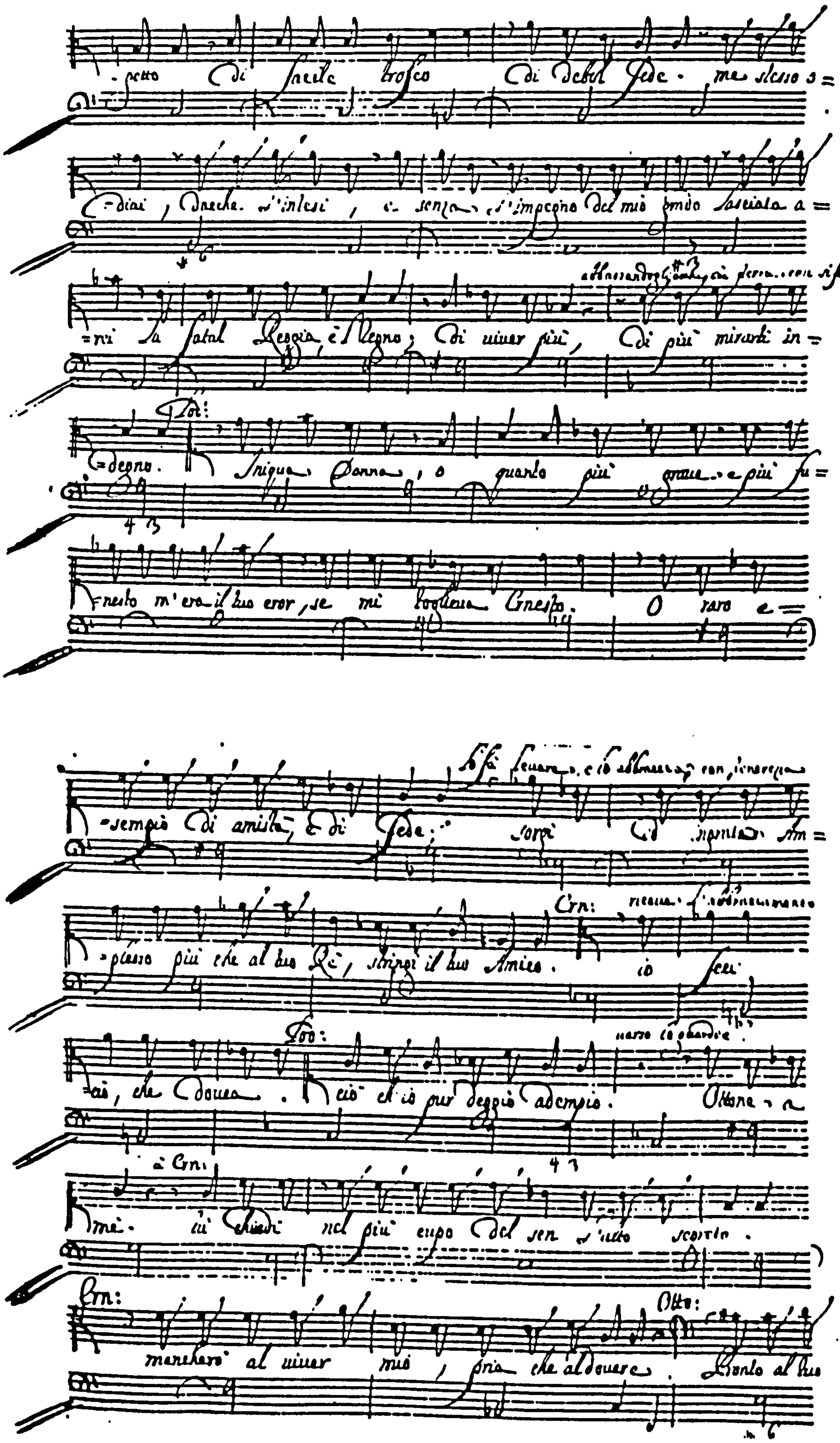

Crn:
Lod:
e da quel giorno correr sei lune e sei.
Vedous
Crn:
Lod:
=dor cauto onestade.
Ah. O Engelberto ciò temo.
Crn:
Augusta.
anch' ella è Donna, e Moglie.
Lod:
mostrandoli una lettera
temido è grande amor,
Crn:
Lod:
=luvio, e fè promessa.
sui mia fed...
(O rossore!)
Crn:
cominciu a respi = rar la mia.
Vendetta.
Crn:
Cesare, in Engelberto, ben ch. non corisponli,
(adorna impuri affetti. e se non riedi, (dal' abre vampe in
breue fiamma vscirà bastante (ad offuscar de la tua fama i=

continued

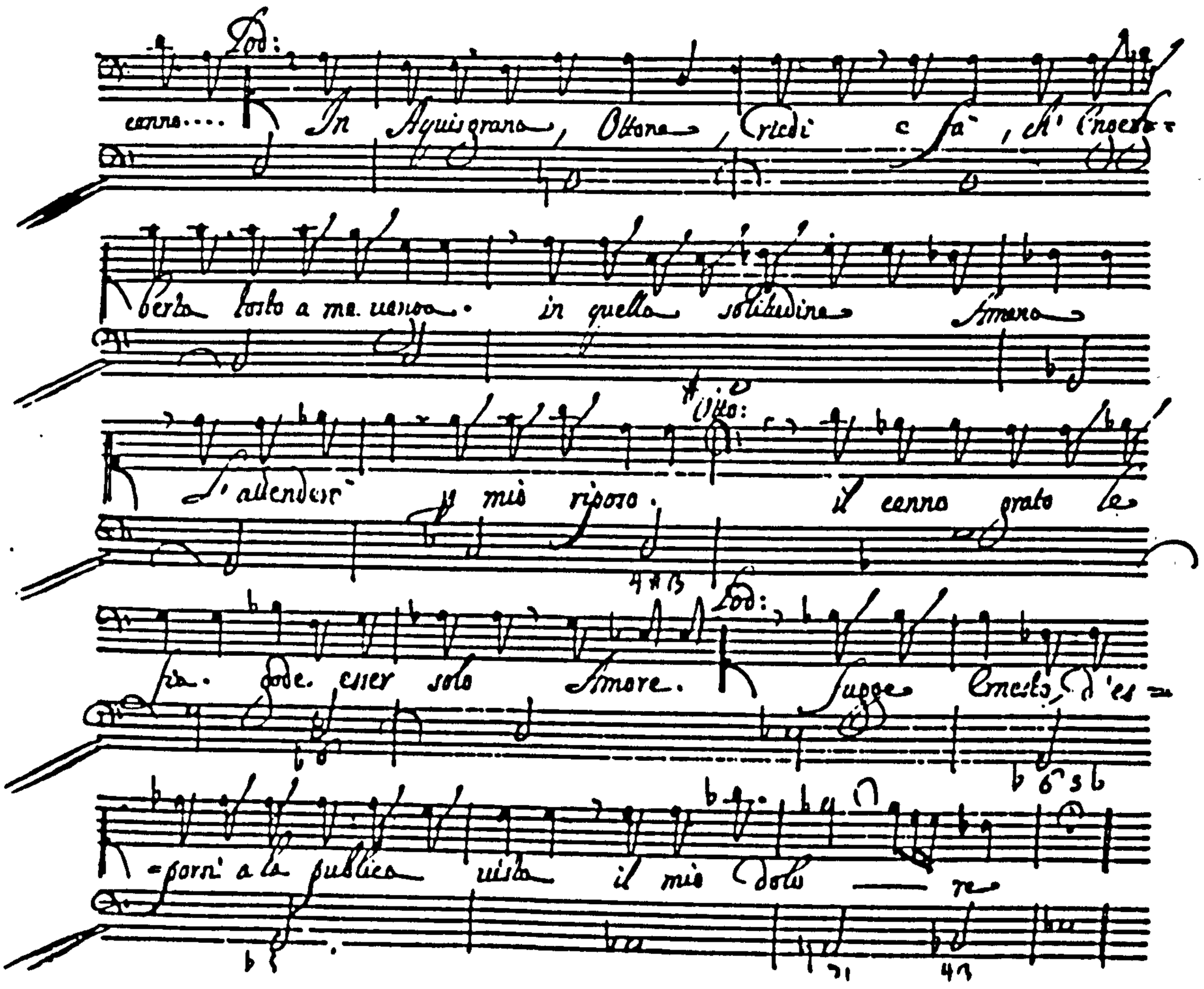

rai. pronto rimedio a' miein mal si chiede scrive chi tutto è
rendendogli la fauella.
zelo, e tutto e fede. che fassi mai. (godi alma
Dol:
mia. Tù Cristo, cui me tonbano
=nir d'augusta al fianco è publicata del Regno sorte mi=
=enti di: chi sueglia l'ardor. chi de l'iniquo
ributo le spiegle. a chi deggio io
Con: cunfigo
scorno, e l'onor mio. dal crudel... tenno... io =
Dol:
=solui.... nè, nè subbidirei, e s'anco il mio sou=
Con:
=rano, o se lo stesso fosse. Nol niego: erro Engel=
=berto; e in tanto affetto si annidi la grand'alma.


=mò, usbe, lento. ma risorpito pena ne l'oxò de' sui
usbi, e lacqui.; finido ò disperato più non sal=
Lor: concitato
li... ma solo ch'è più non puole la reiterata..
Cr: in atto disperato con afflizione
d'altrui uirbi / quanto non è sua colpa. M.? d'ogn'ereo, di
Lor:
non curando Aneora offende il suo Signor. ioi de l'offesa
Cr: Lor:
e misuro il uolar. sorte mi arride. seuramente il
Cr: s'inginocchia Lor: Cr:
fido. a le sue piante il uedi.. che. si, cadi pros=
Tratto il reo Vassallo. chiederà supplicante, che lo in esso pu=
Lor: guardandolo attent.te Cr:
=nisca un non sue fallo. Celi:.. Cruste.- io quel
sono, io l'infelice, che piangendo ad Ingelberto, e pasa og=

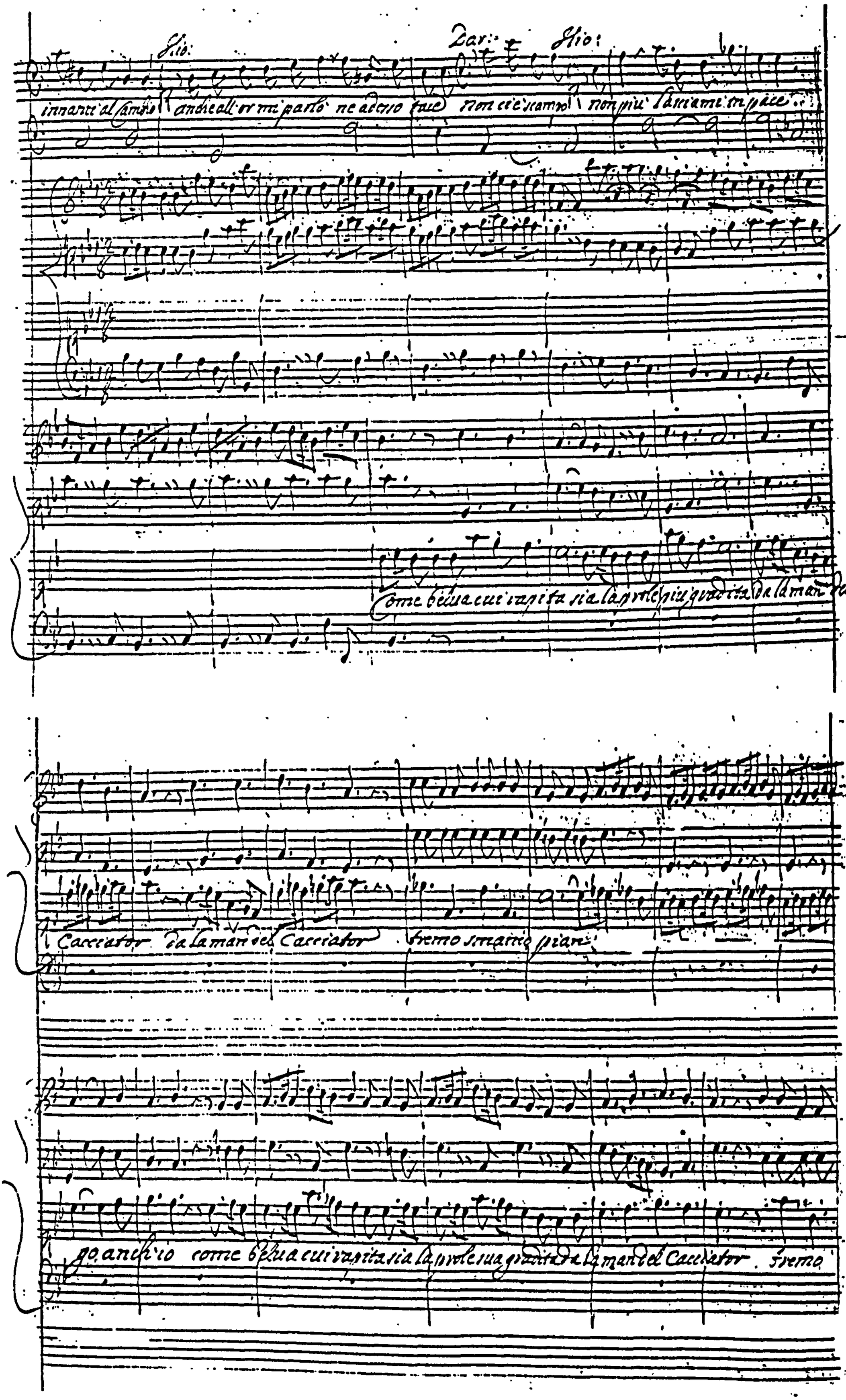
continued


-petto Di fraude troppo Di debil fede. me stesso a =
Odiai, Oreste. m'inteso, e senza d'impegno del mio onor lasciato a =
Alessandro Gran Re di Persia, con sfor
=ni la fatal Reggia, e Regno; Di viver più, Di più mirarti in =
Or:
=degno. Iniqua Donna, o quanto più grave, e più fu =
4 5
Oreste m'era il suo error, se mi togliea Creusa. O raro e =
Se seguace, e di abbracciar con sincerità
-sempio Di amista, e di Fede: Forse Ch' ingiusto am =
Cri: riceva l'abbracciamento
-piacer più che al suo Re, stringer il suo Amico. io fei
Oro: mano la spada.
=ti, che Douea. Ciò ch'io pur deggio adempio. Ottone a
4 7
mio. Ch'io chiuda nel più empio Del seno tutto scorto.
Cri: Otto:
morrò al viver mio, pria che al douere. Lasso al suo

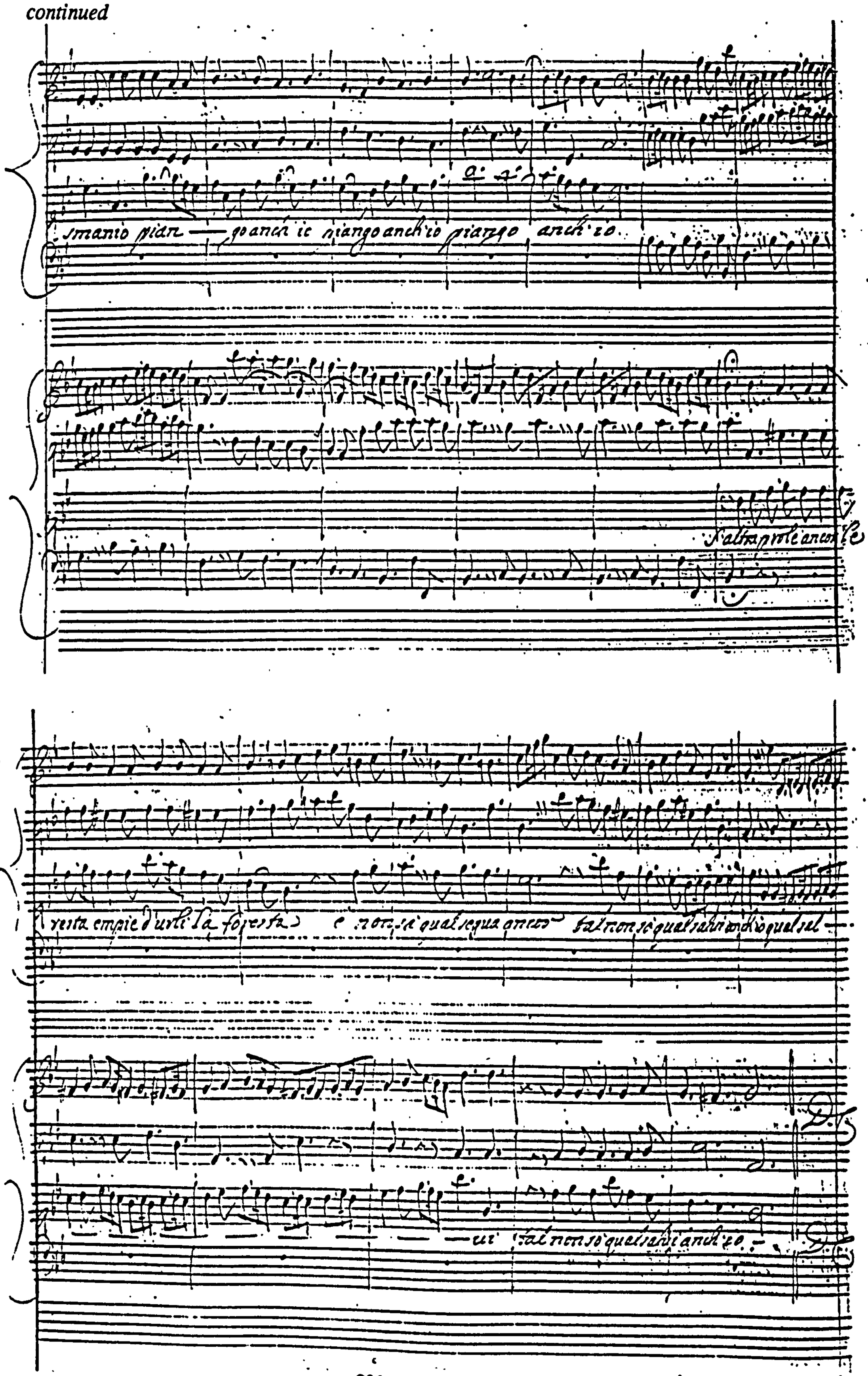
continued


Tod:
corre.... In Aquisgrano, Ottone, credi
Verba sotto a me. venga. in quella solitudine
Ottone:
L'attender il mio riposo. il cenno grato
Tod:
sa. sode. esser solo Amore. Suppe
-porni a la publica vista il mio dolo re

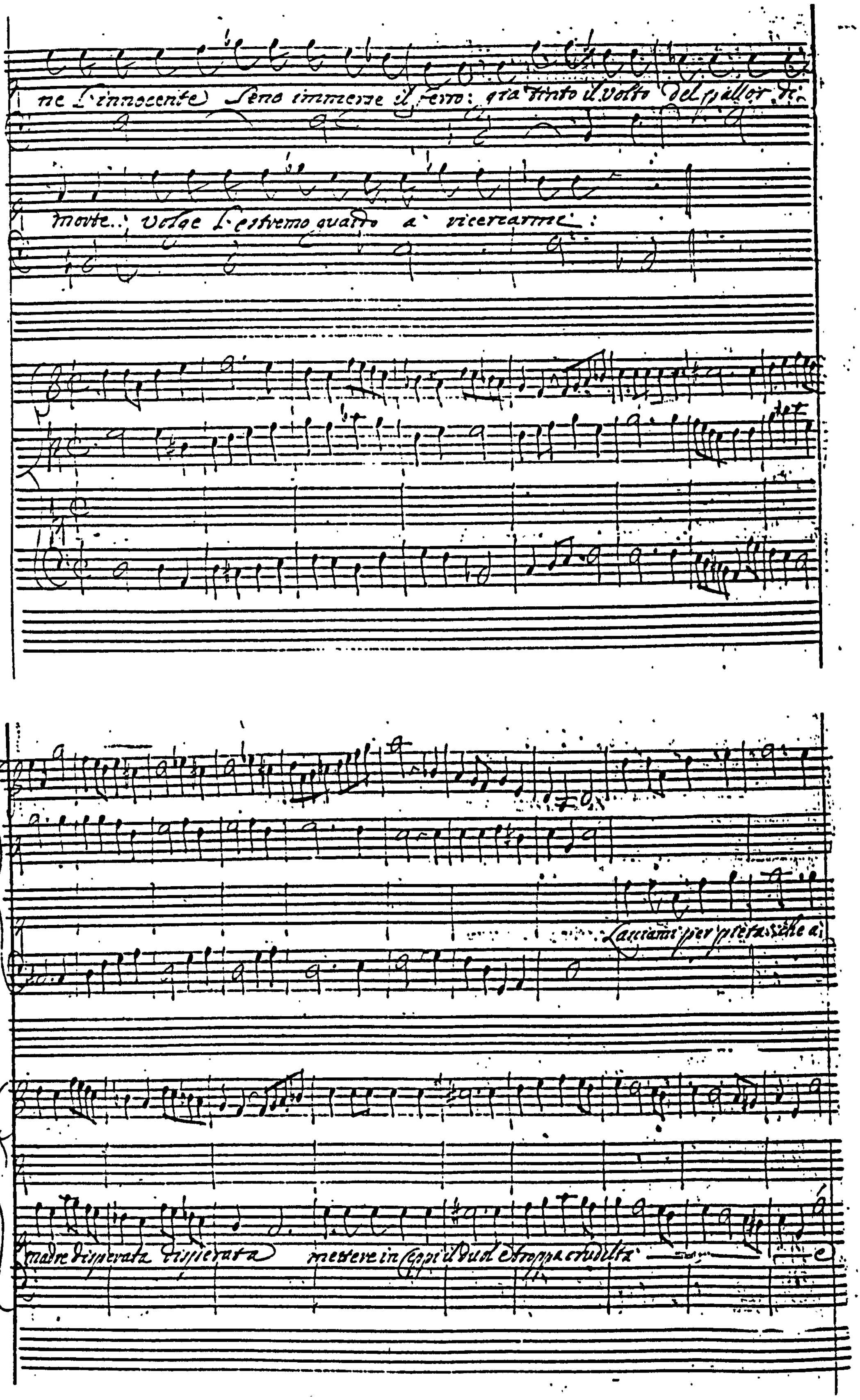
Example 4.1. Antonio Lotti, *Polidoro* (Venice 1714*mv*) I,iii, aria of Iliona 'Come belva' (I-Nc 28.4.37)



continued


smanio pian — go anch'io piango anch'io piango anch'io
vesta empie d'urli la foresta e non si quel sequa omeo
vi sal non si quel sequa anch'io

Example 4.2. Lotti, *Polidoro* (Venice 1714*mv*) III,vii, aria of Iliona 'Lasciami per pietà' (I-Nc 28.4.37)



continued

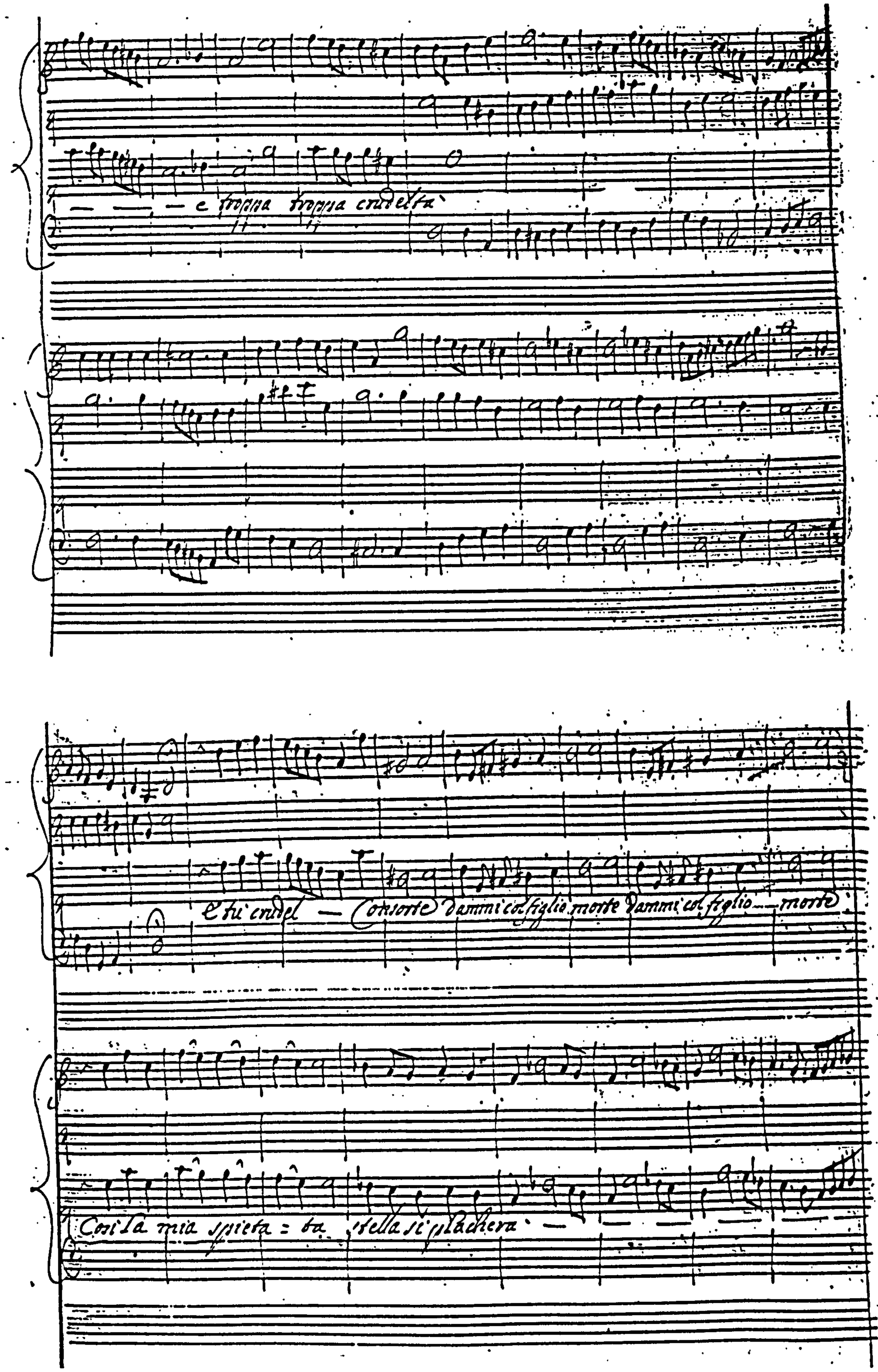
troppa crudelta' — e troppa crudelta' — — — — Crudelta::

— crudelta' — lasciami per pieta' che a morte dispe=rata .. dispe=rata

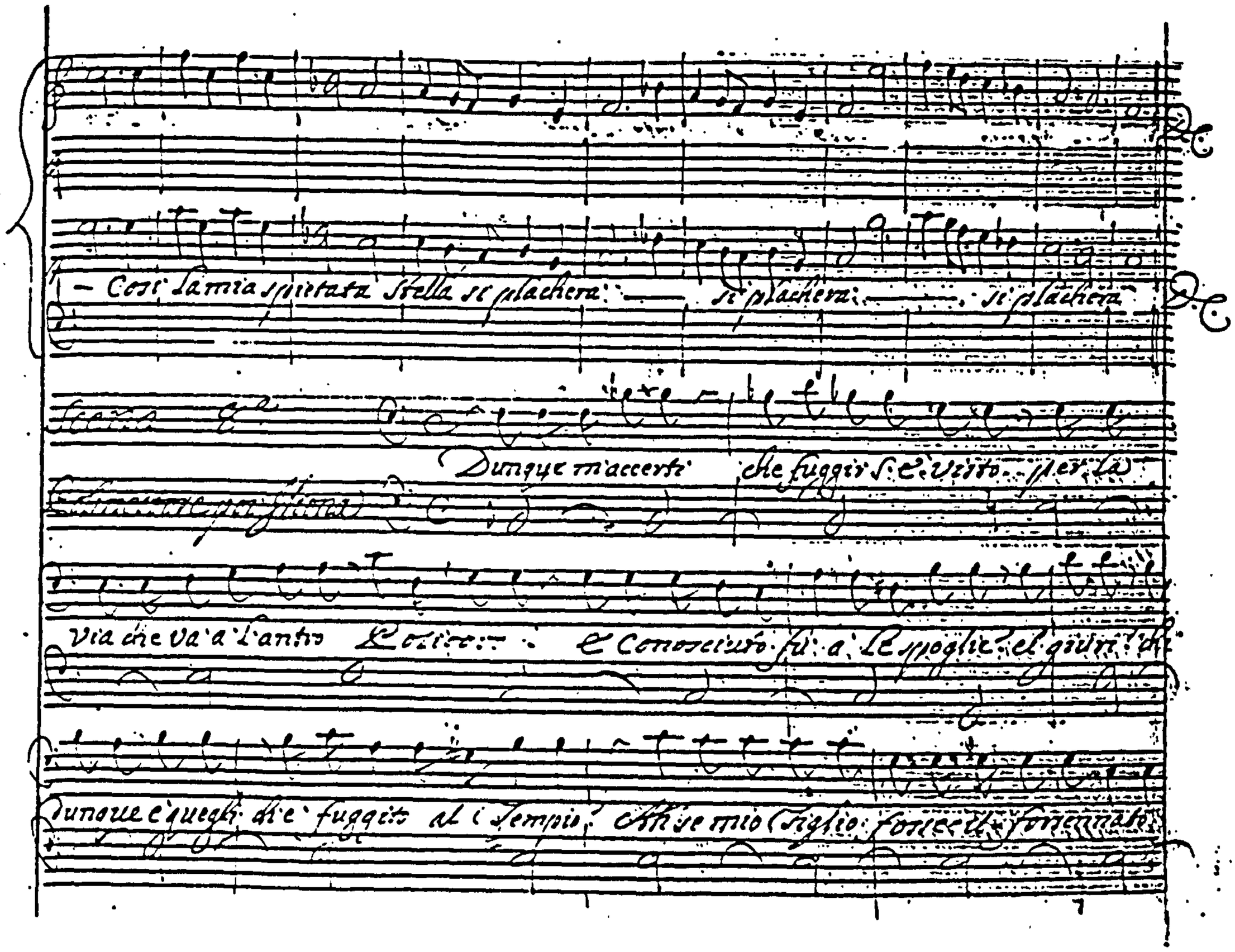
mettere in seppi il duol — mettere in seppi il duol — e troppa crudelta'

e troppa troppa crudelta' crudelta' crudelta'

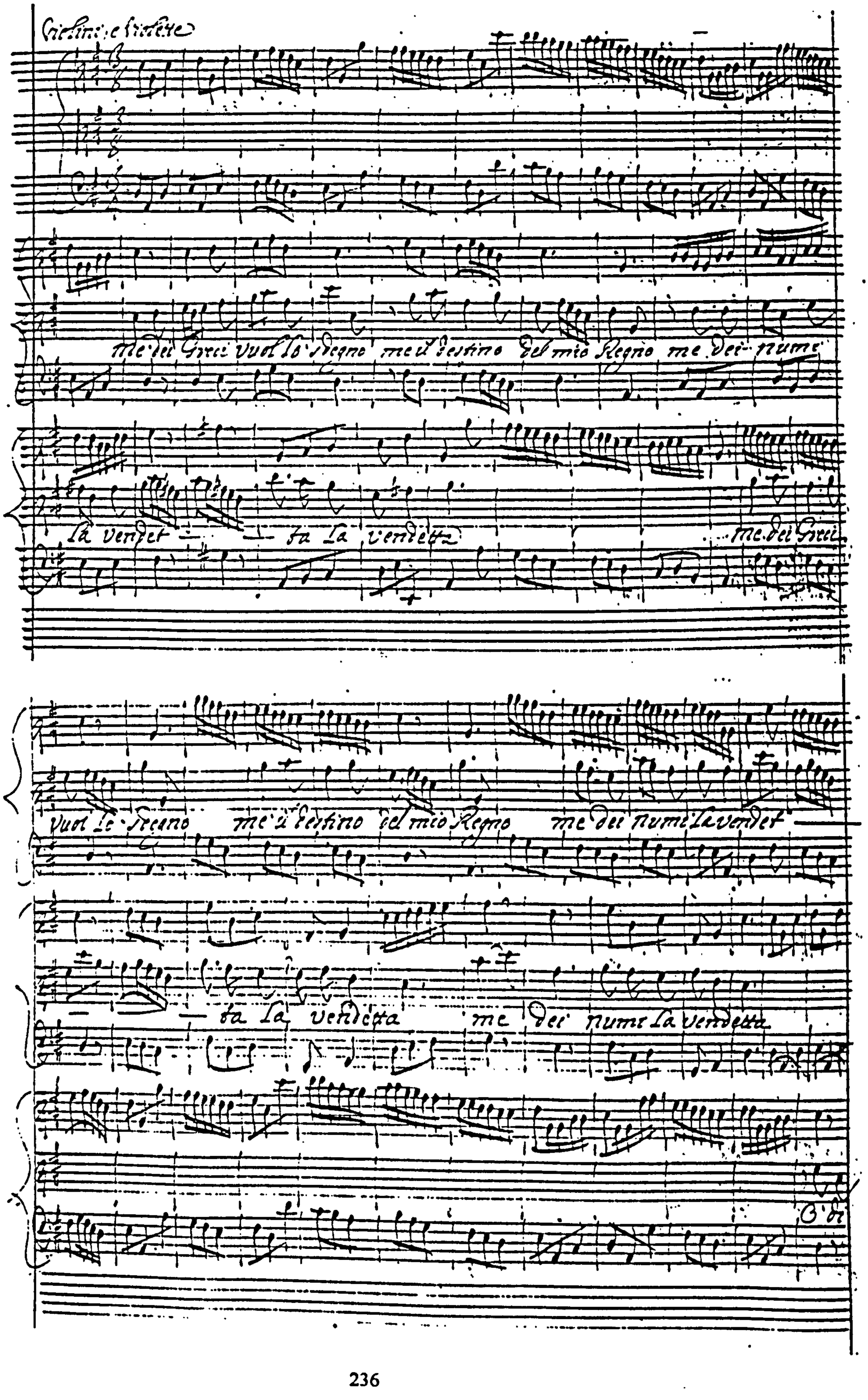
continued


— — — e frolla frolla crudelta'
E tu' crudel — Consorte Dammi col figlio morte Dammi col figlio — morte
Cosi la mia ssfieta = ta stella si ssplachera —

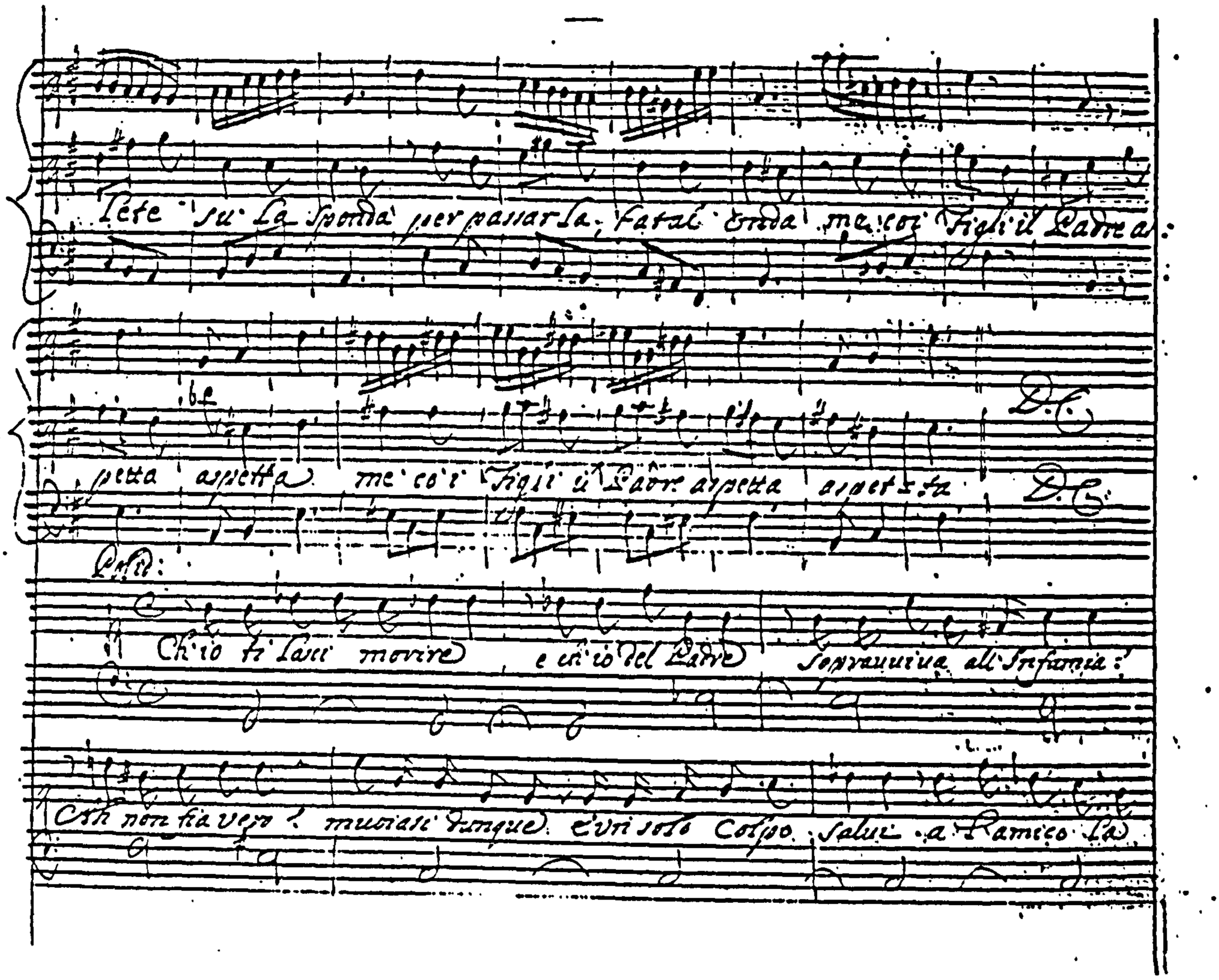
continued


– Così la mia spiritata Stella si placherà: si placherà: si placherà
Dunque m'accerti che fuggir s. e. vitto per la
Via che va a l'antro Cotito: e Conoscitrò fu: a le spoglie el giur: di
Junone c'quegli: dic' fuggito al' Tempio: Ahi se mio Figlio: fortuna fortunata

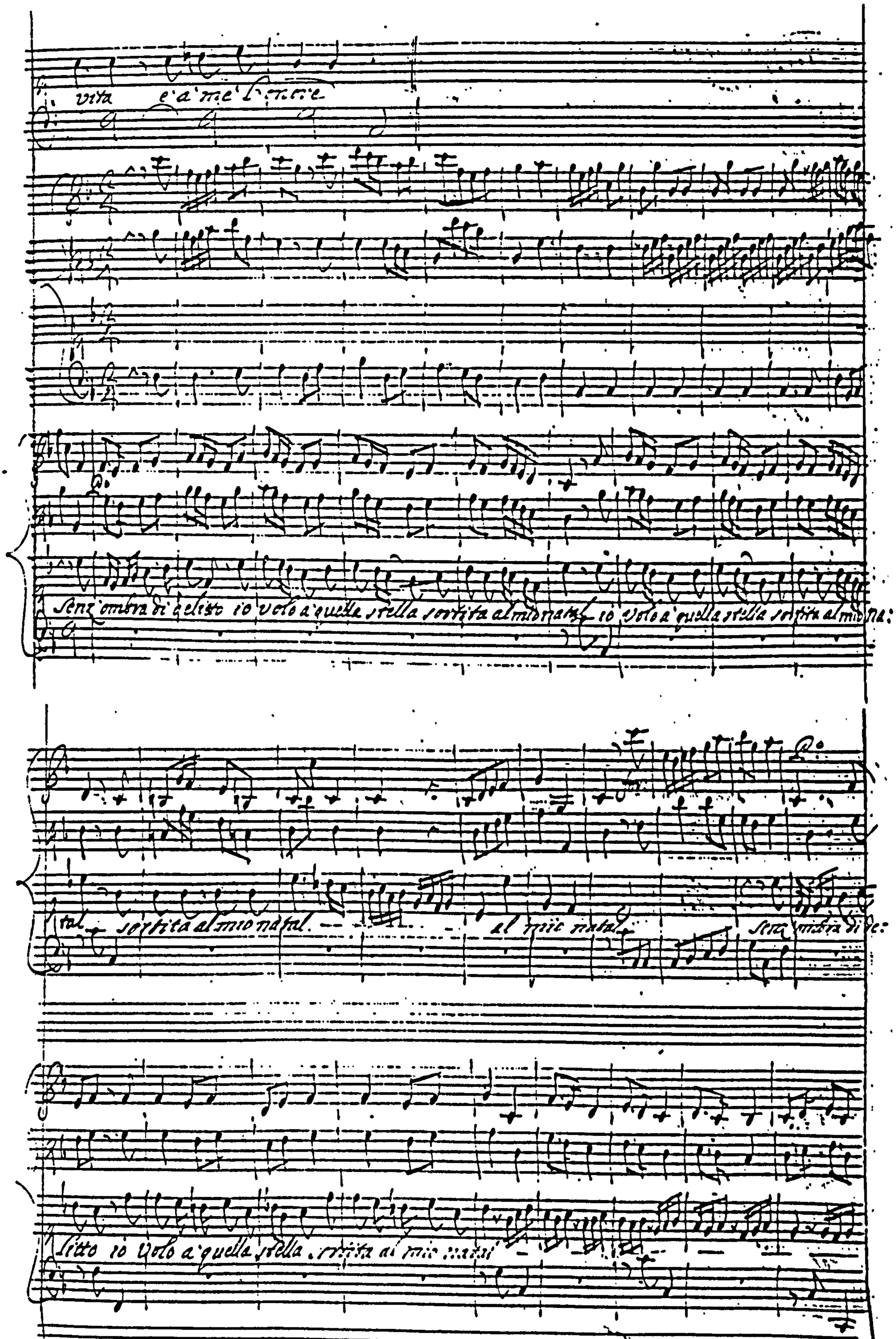
Example 4.3. Lotti, *Polidoro* (Venice 1714*mv*) I,vii, aria of Deifilo 'Me dei Greci' (I-Nc 28.4.37)



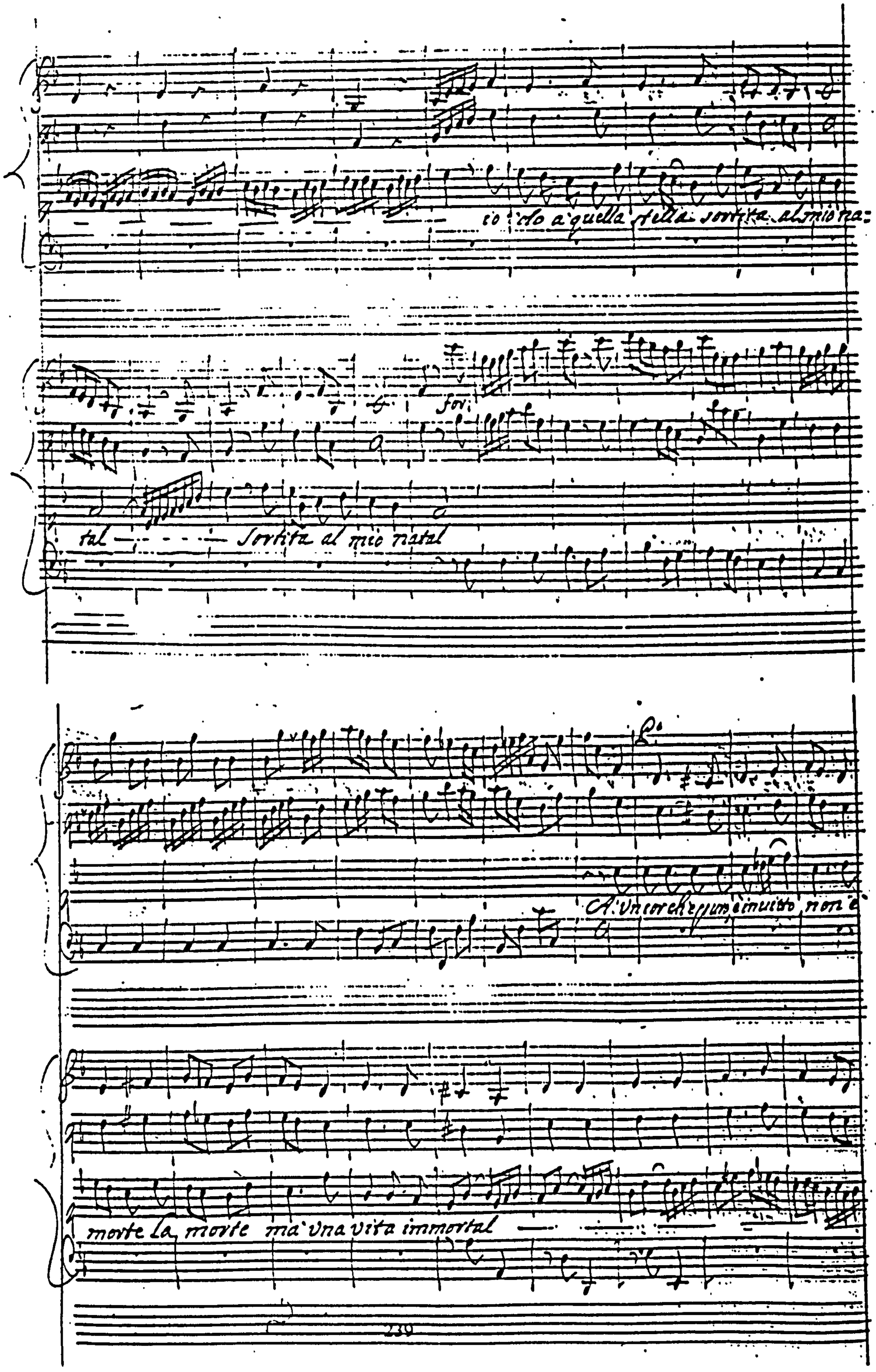
continued


Lete su La sponda per passar la fatal onda meco Figli il Padre
Lete
Che io ti lasci morire e che io del Padre sopravviva all'Infamia!
Ch non fia vero! mutiati lingue. Cui sotto Cielo. salui. a Ramiro la

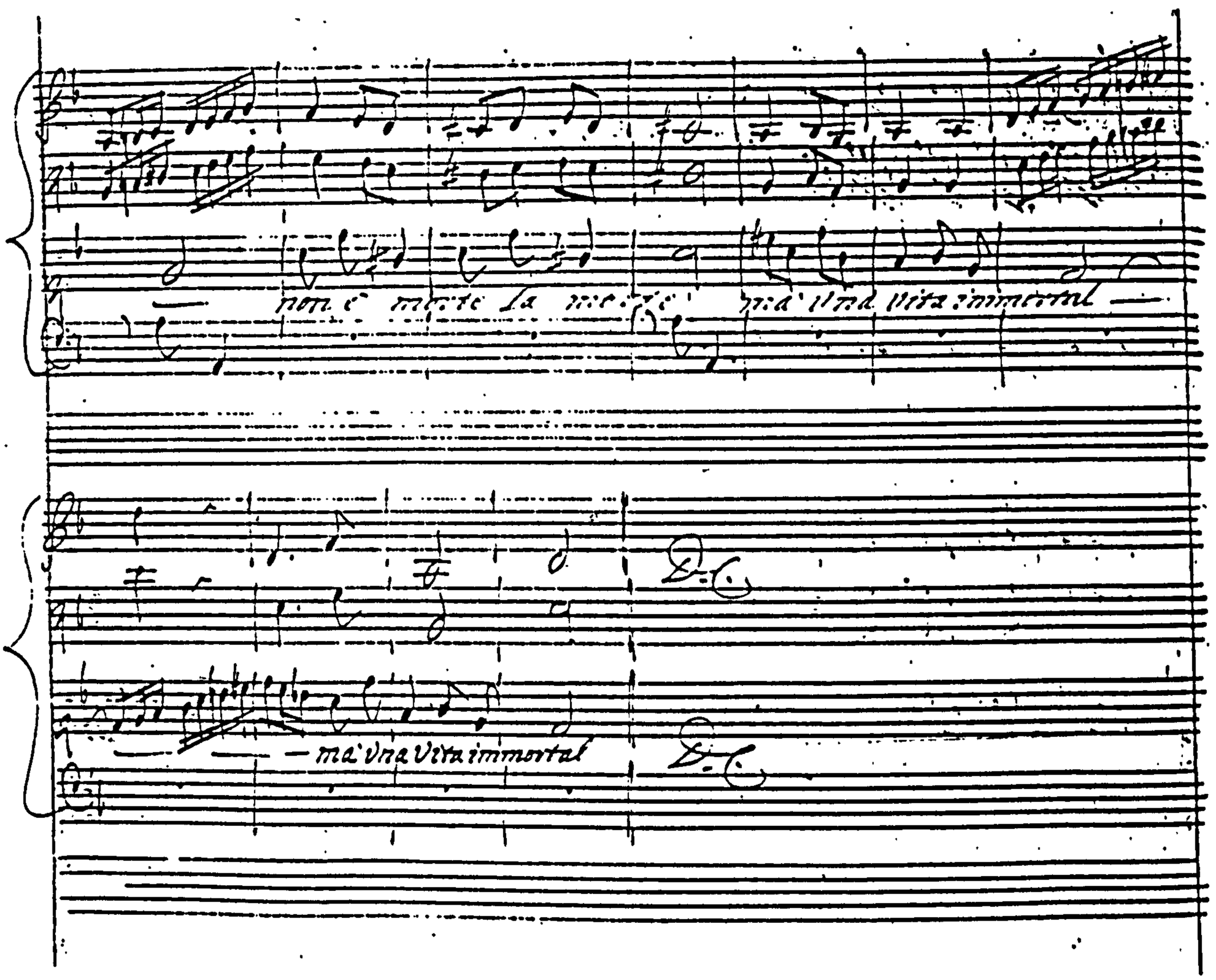
Example 4.4 Lotti, *Polidoro* (Venice 1714*mv*) I,vii, aria of Polidoro 'Senz'ombra di delitto' (I-Nc 28.4.37)



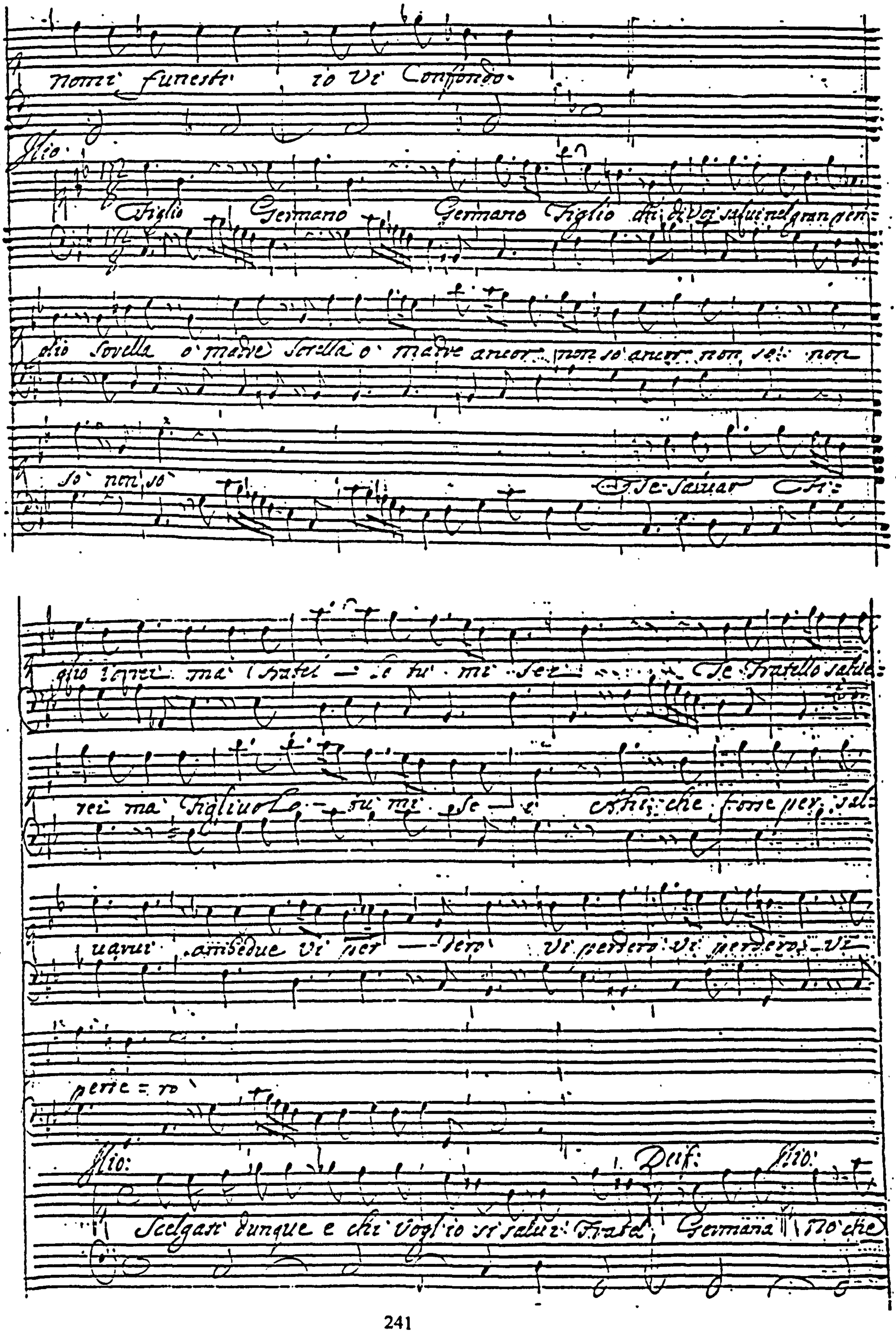
continued


io vido a quella stella sorrisa almio nas:
for
tal — — — Sorrisa al mio natal
morte La morte ma Una vita immortal

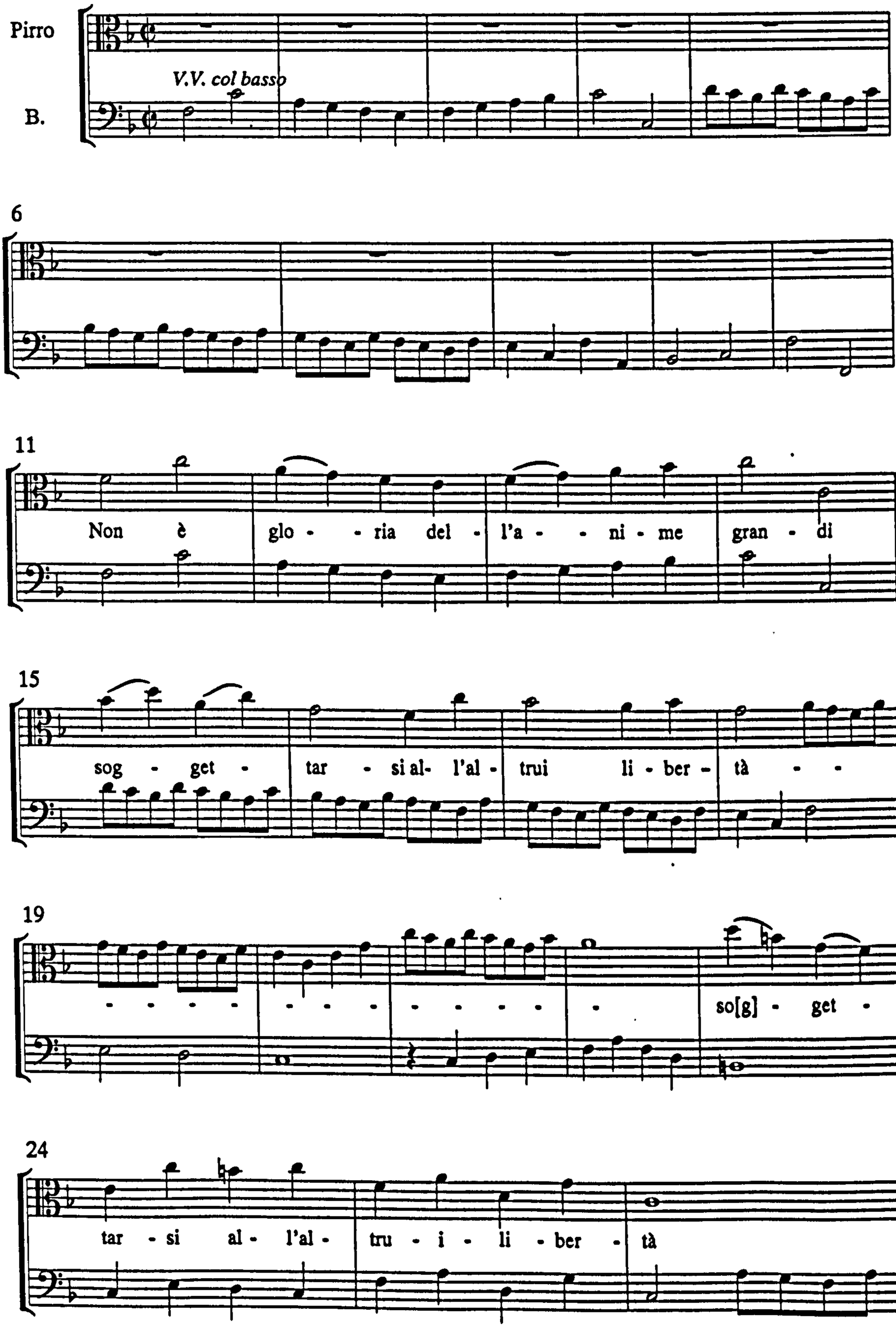
continued


non è morte la morte ma'Una Vita immortal
D.C.
F
ma'Una Vita immortal
D.C.

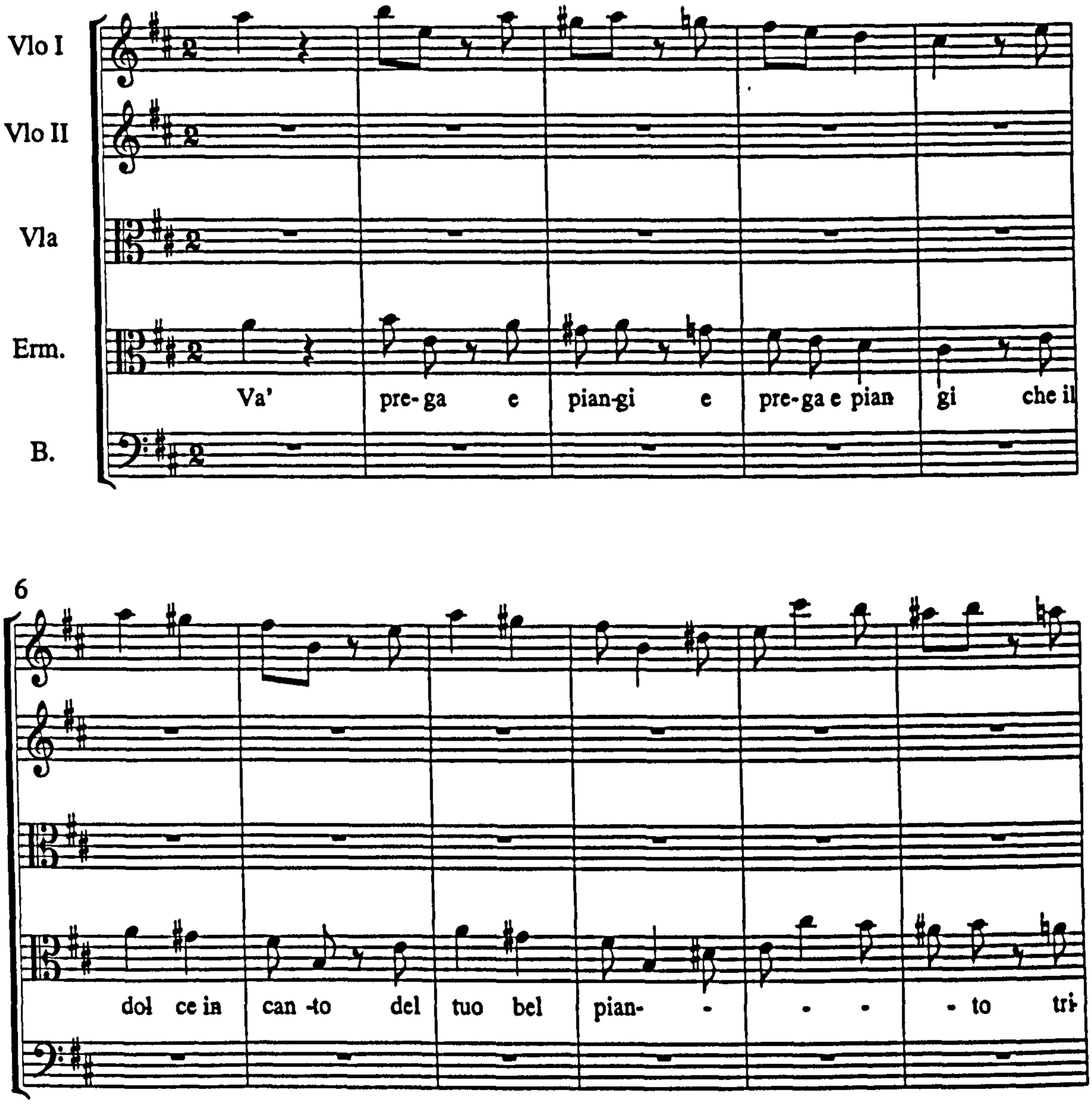
Example 4.5. Lotti, *Polidoro* (Venice 1714*mv*) II,iii, aria of Iliona 'Figlio, germano' (I-Nc 28.4.37)



Example 6.1. Francesco Gasparini, *Astianatte* (Milan, 1722) I,vii, aria of Pirro 'Non è gloria dell'anime grandi' (GB-Lbl Add. 14,233)

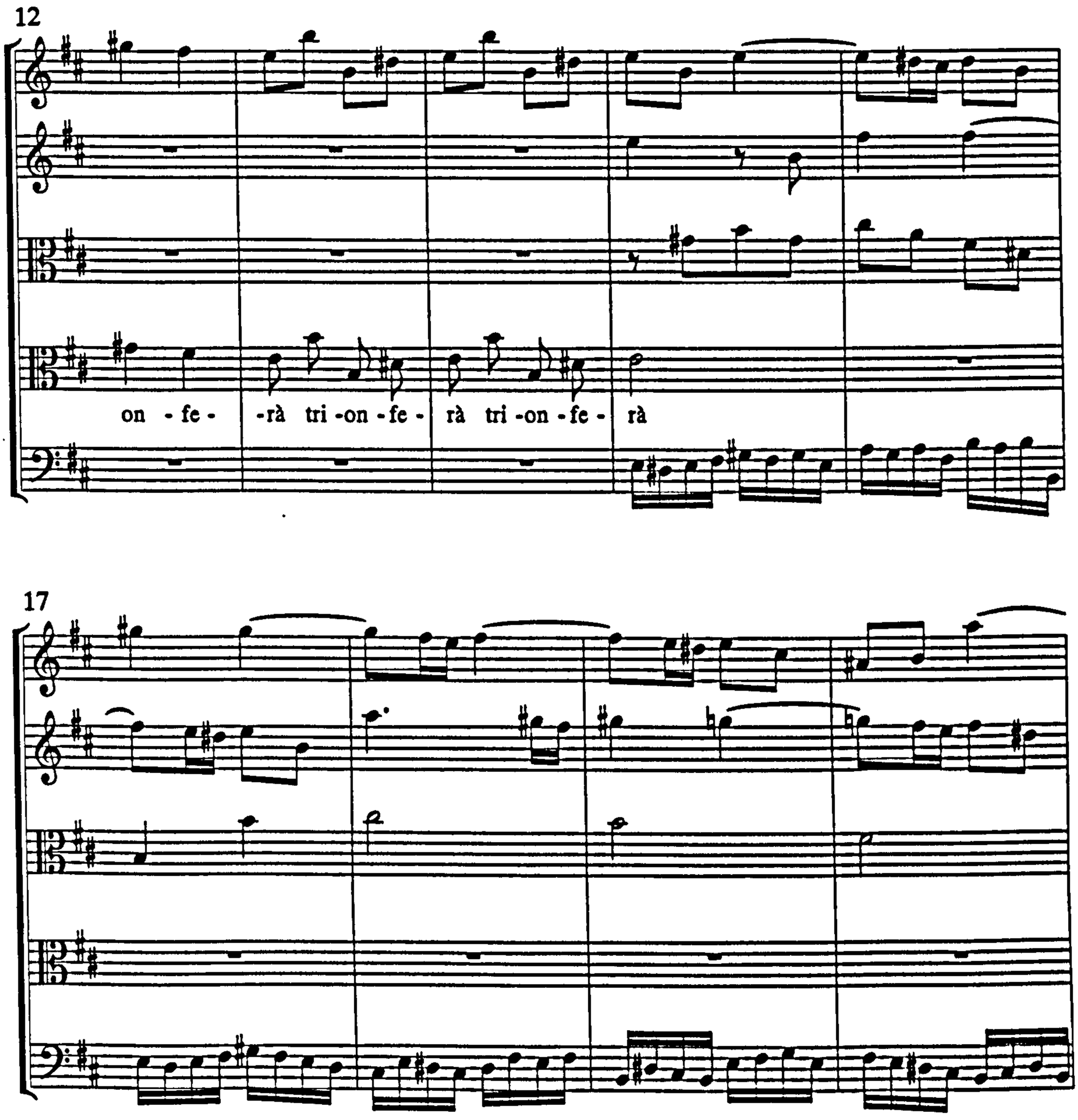


Example 6.2 Gasparini, *Astianatte* (Milan, 1722) II,iii, aria of Ermione 'Và priega, e piangi' (GB-Lbl Add. 14,233)[1]



[1] This aria is not entirely written out in Gasparini's autograph: I have inserted rests and completed, in bars 6-13, the first violin part.

continued



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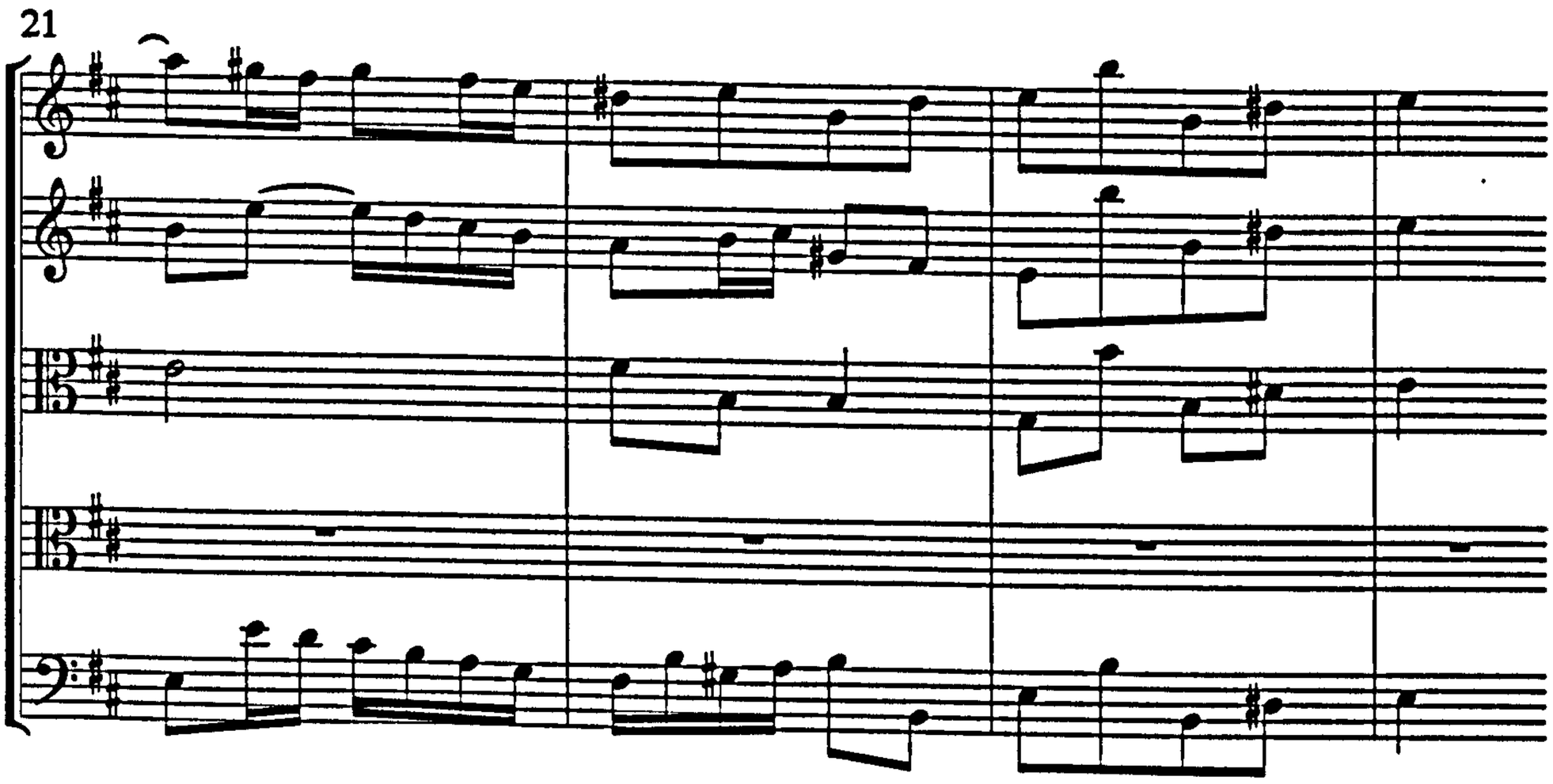
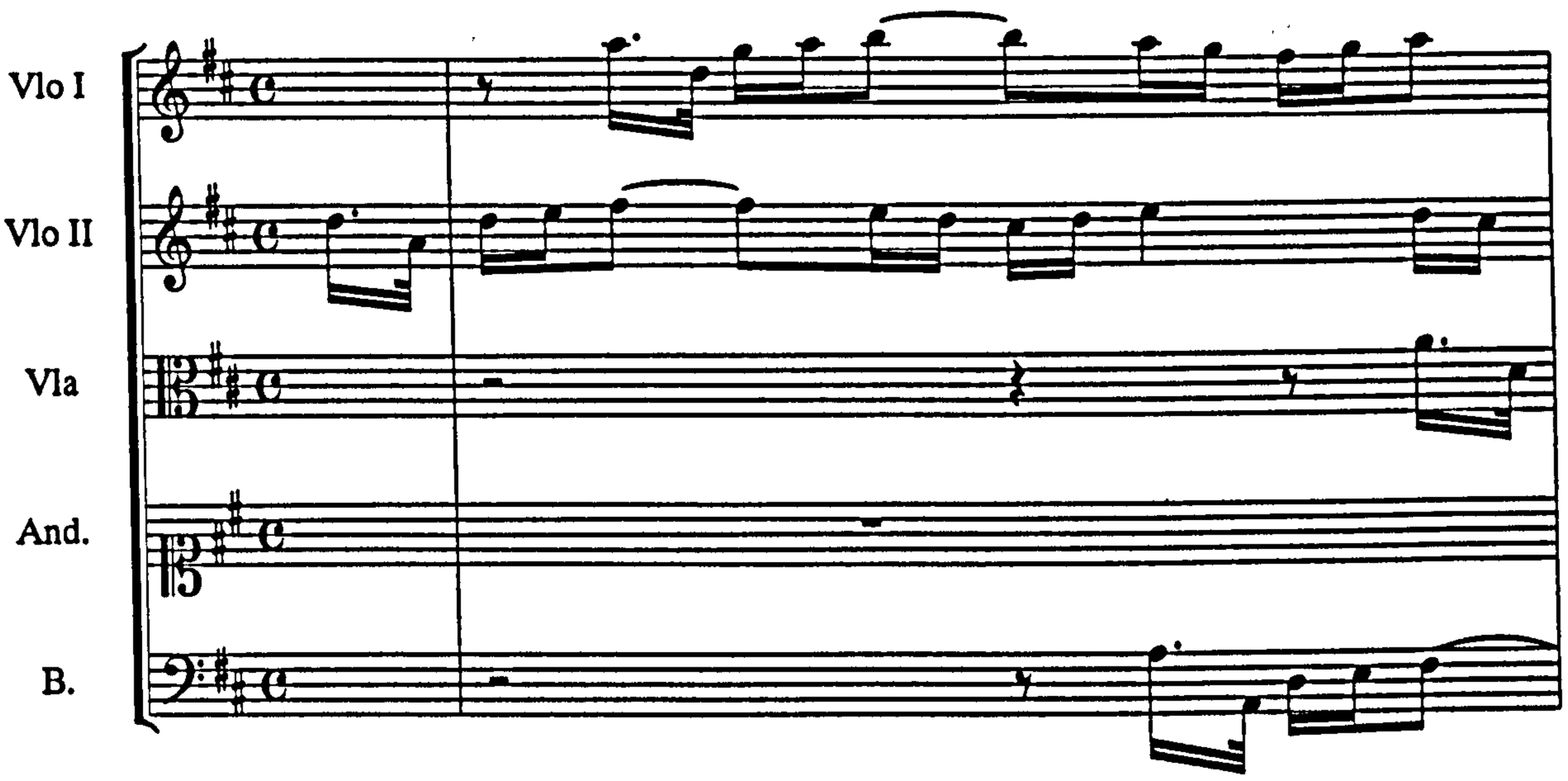
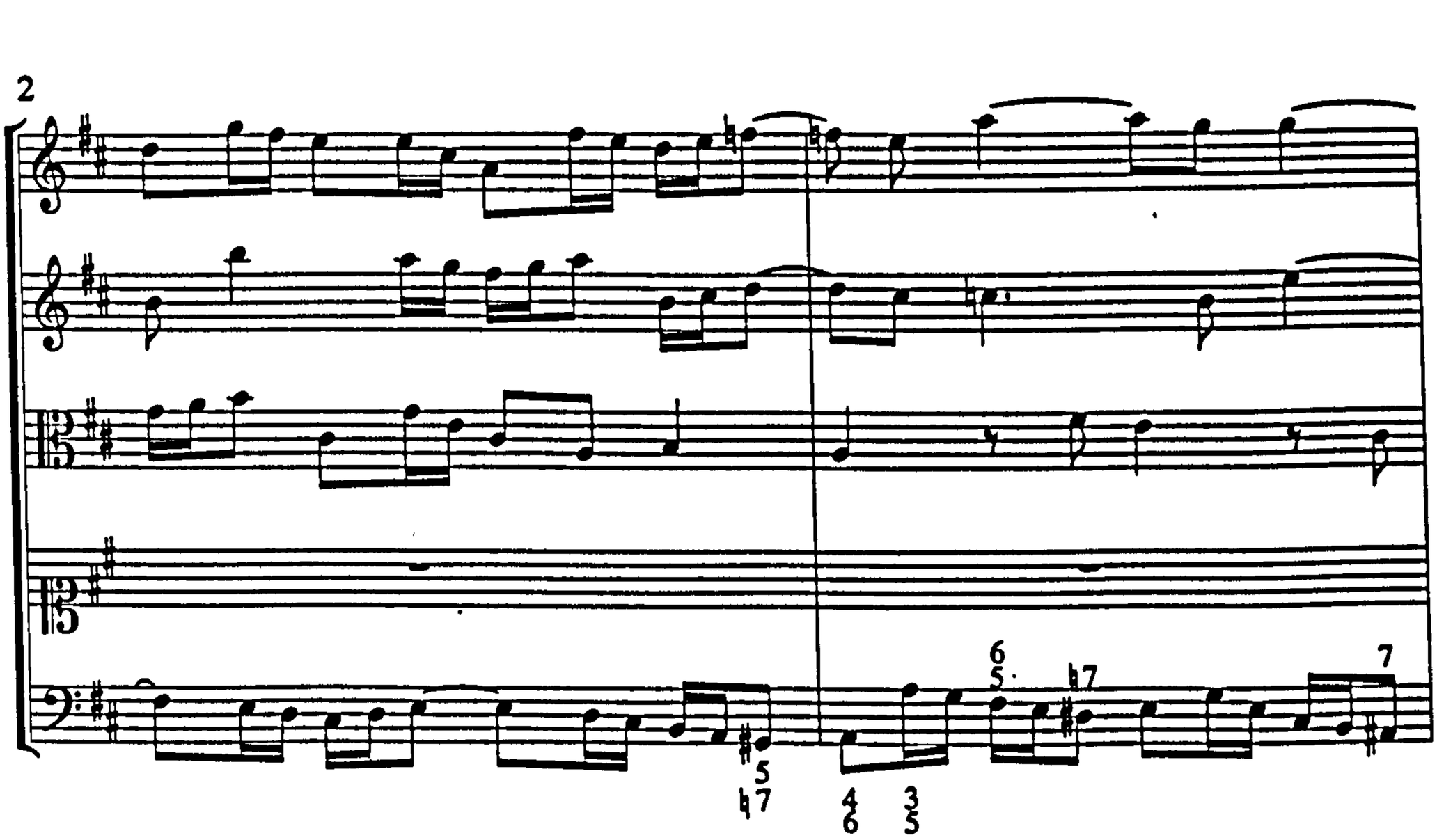


Example 6.3. Gasparini, *Astianatte* (Milan, 1722) II,vi, aria of Andromaca, 'Il mio sposo tradirò' (GB-Lbl Add. 14,233)





4

Il mio spo - so tra - di -

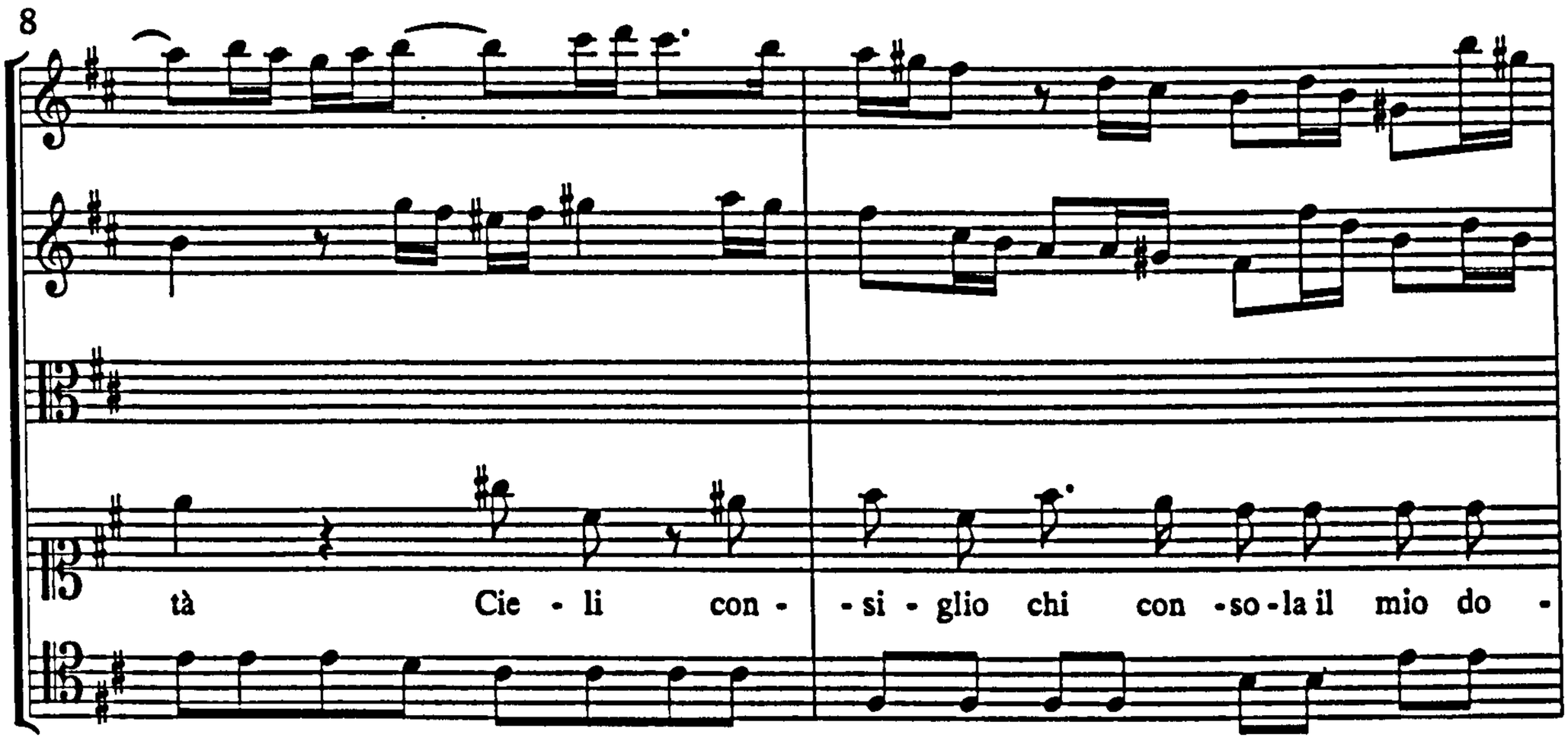
Viol.o solo

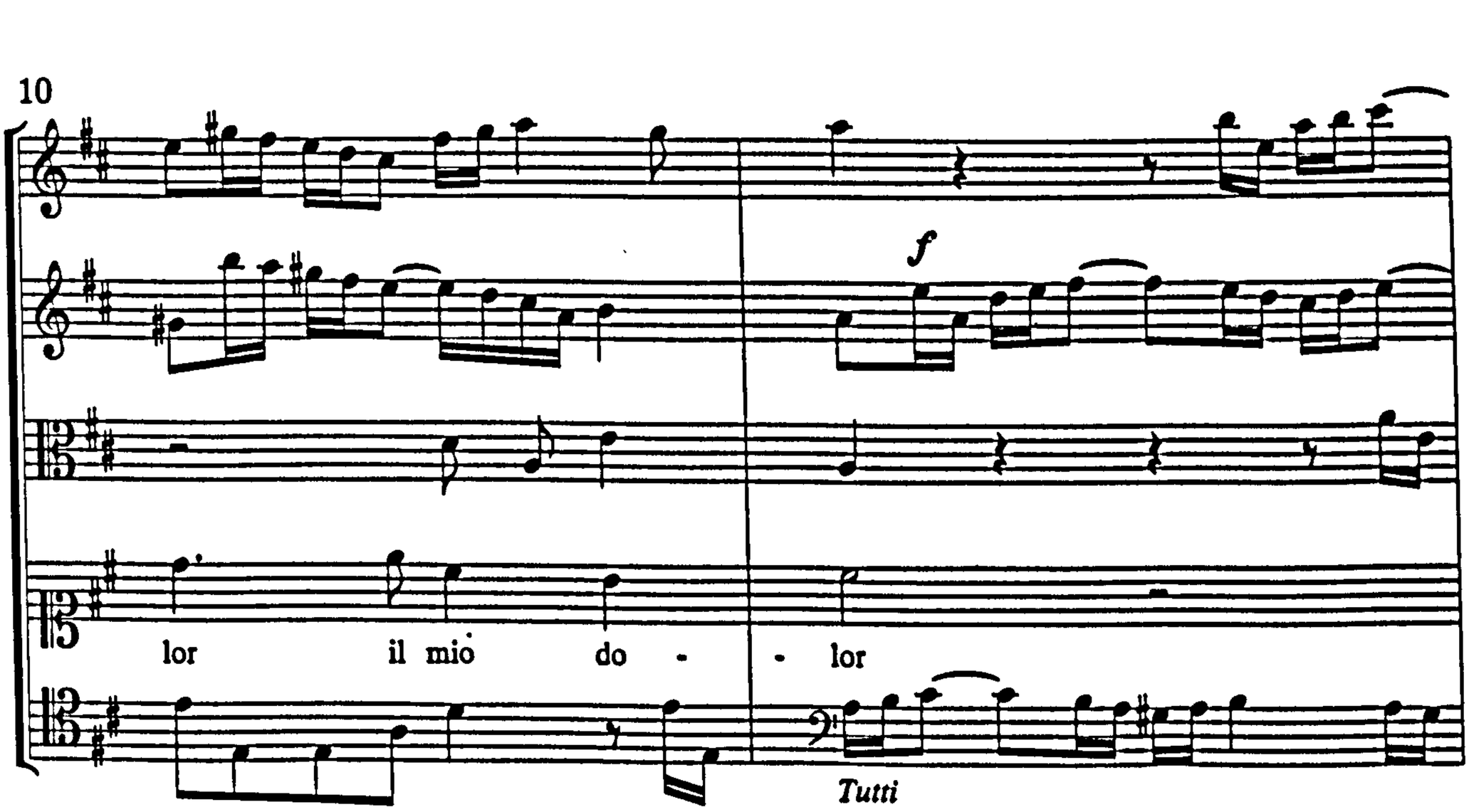
6

Segue col Violonc.

-rò la mia pro - le uc -ci -de -rò De - i pie -

continued


8
tà Cie - li con - - si - glio chi con - so - la il mio do -


10
f
lor il mio do - - lor
Tutti

12

p

segue

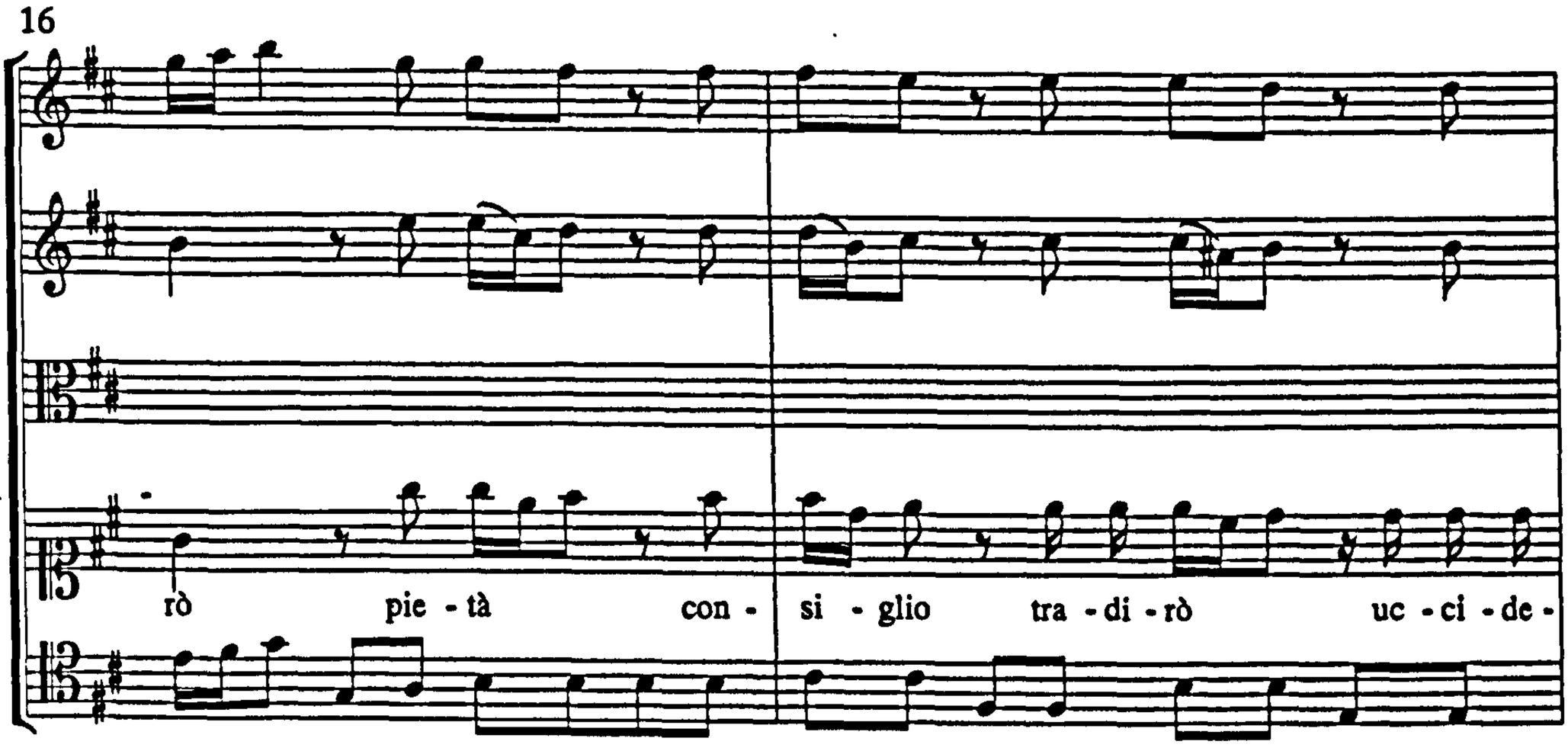
De - i pie - tà il mio spo - so tra - di

V. solo

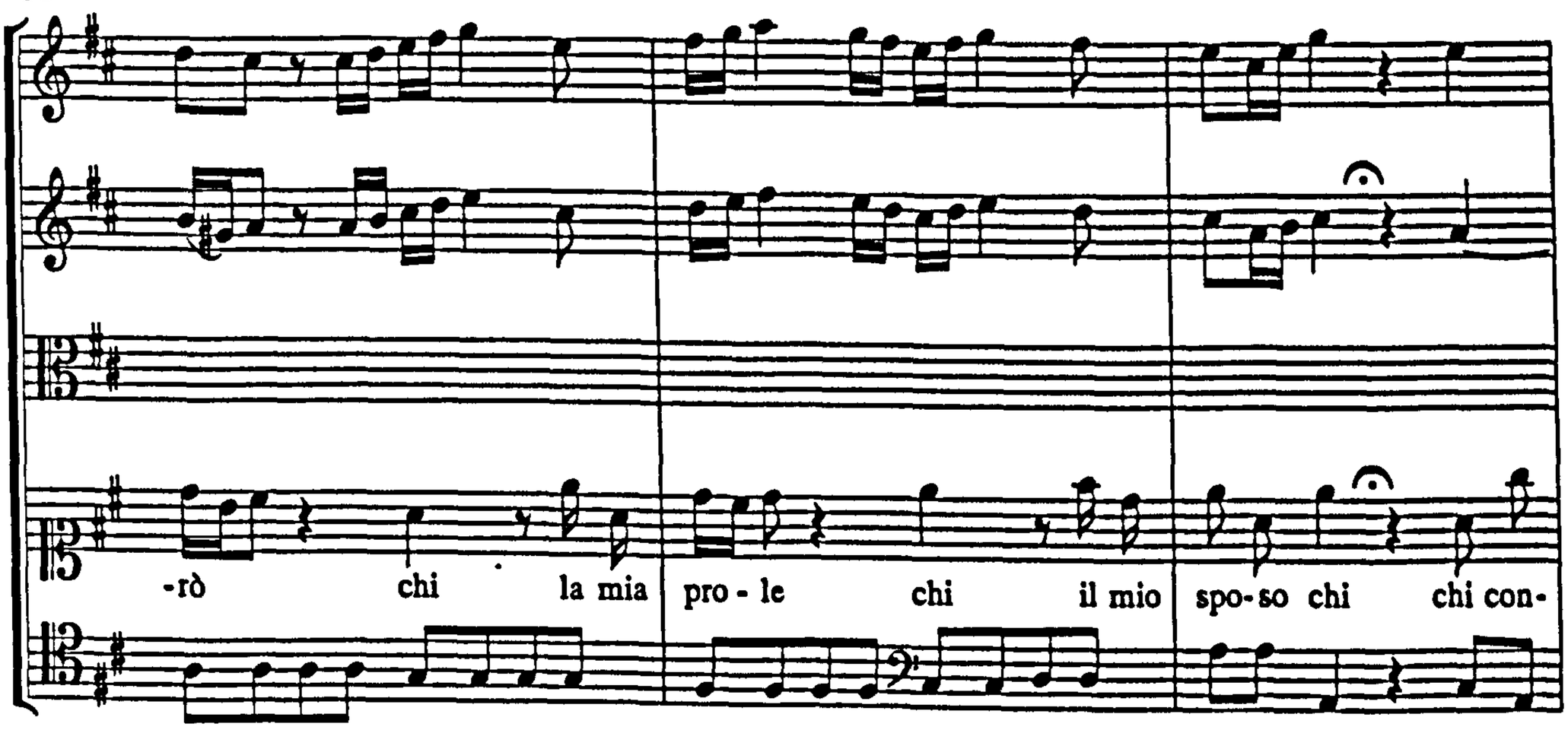
14

rò Cie - li con- si - glio la mia pro - le uc - ci - de -

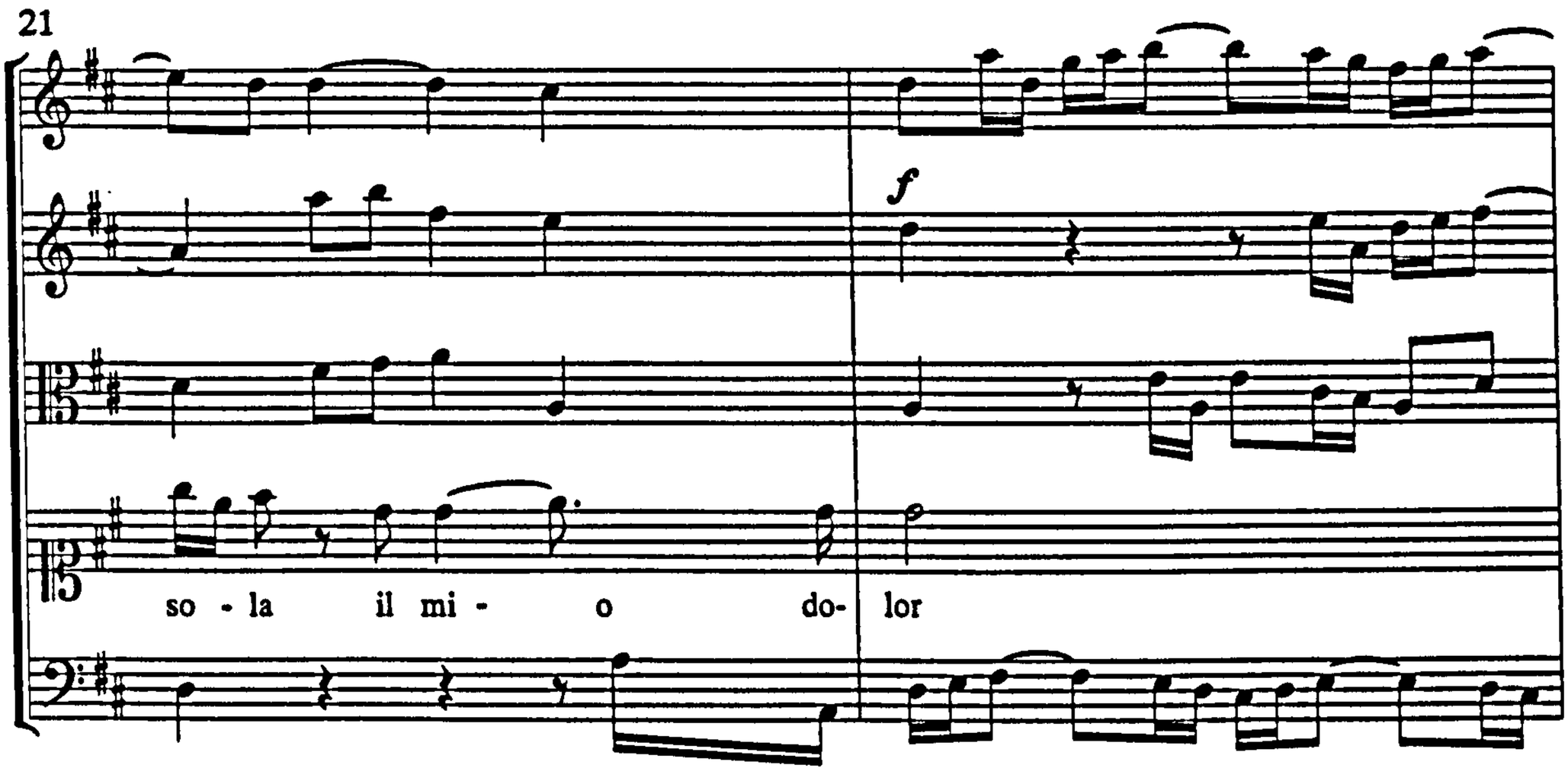
16

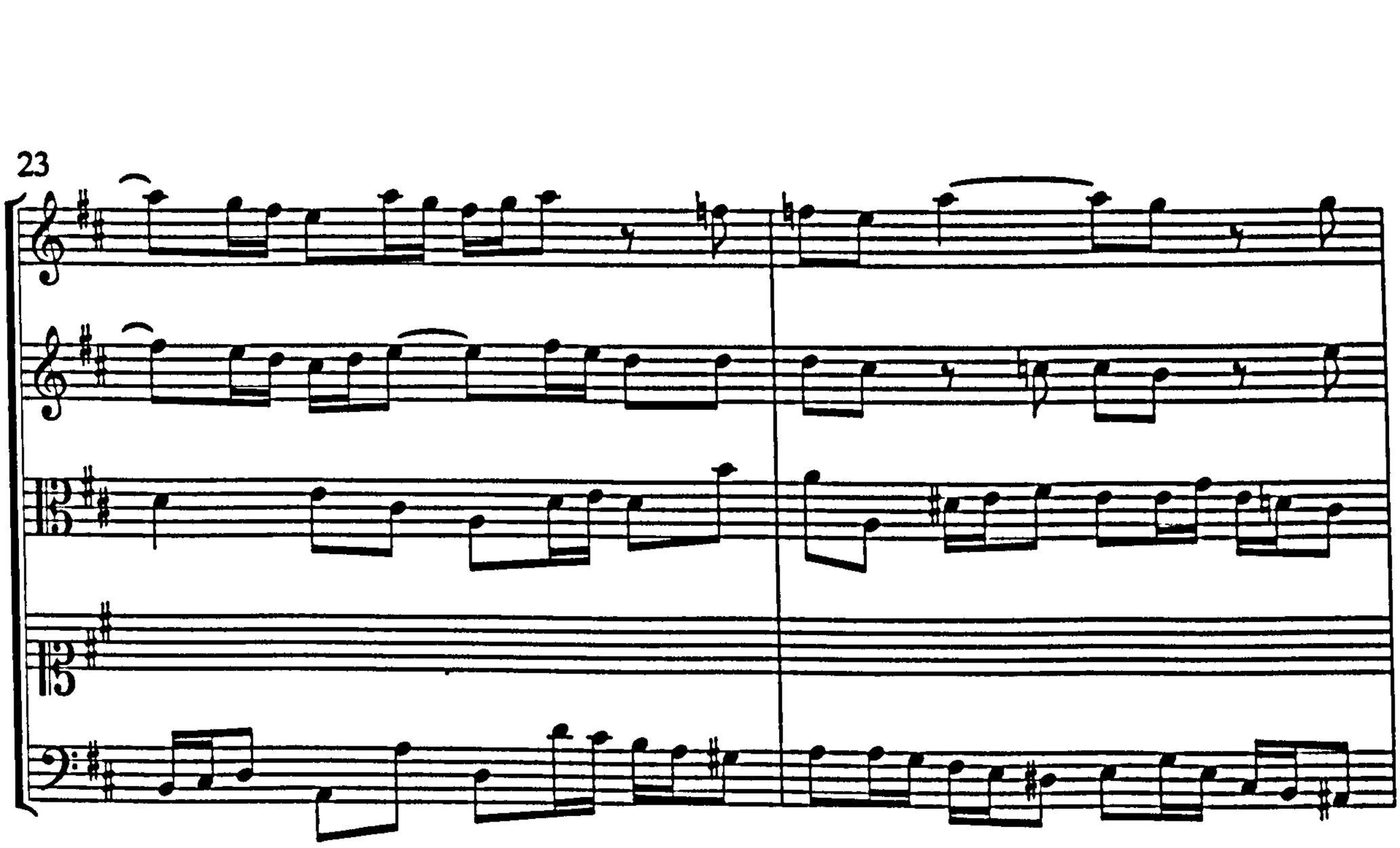

rò pie - tà con - si - glio tra - di - rò uc - ci - de -

18


-rò chi la mia pro - le chi il mio spo-so chi chi con-

continued





continued

25

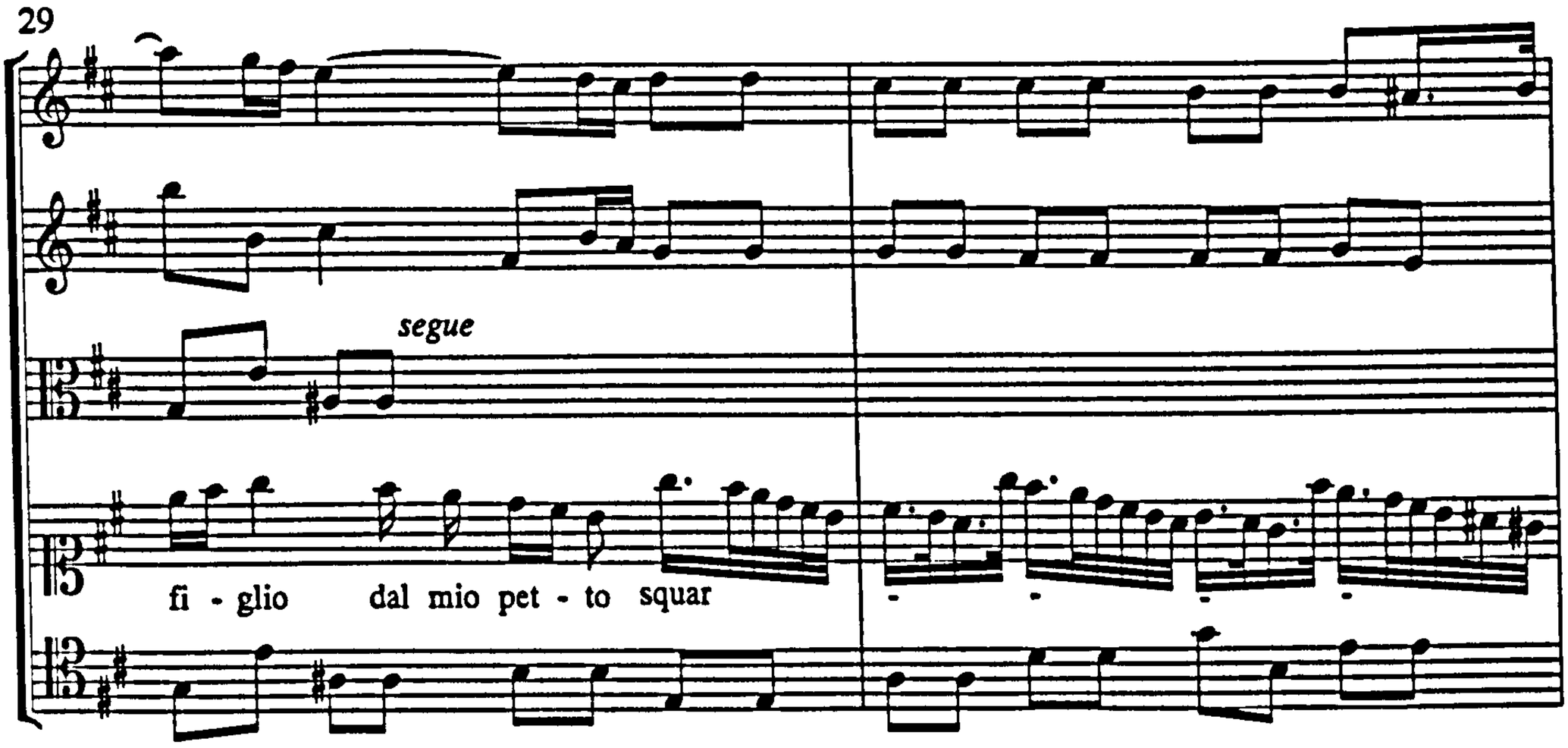
se tra di - sco il mio di -

27

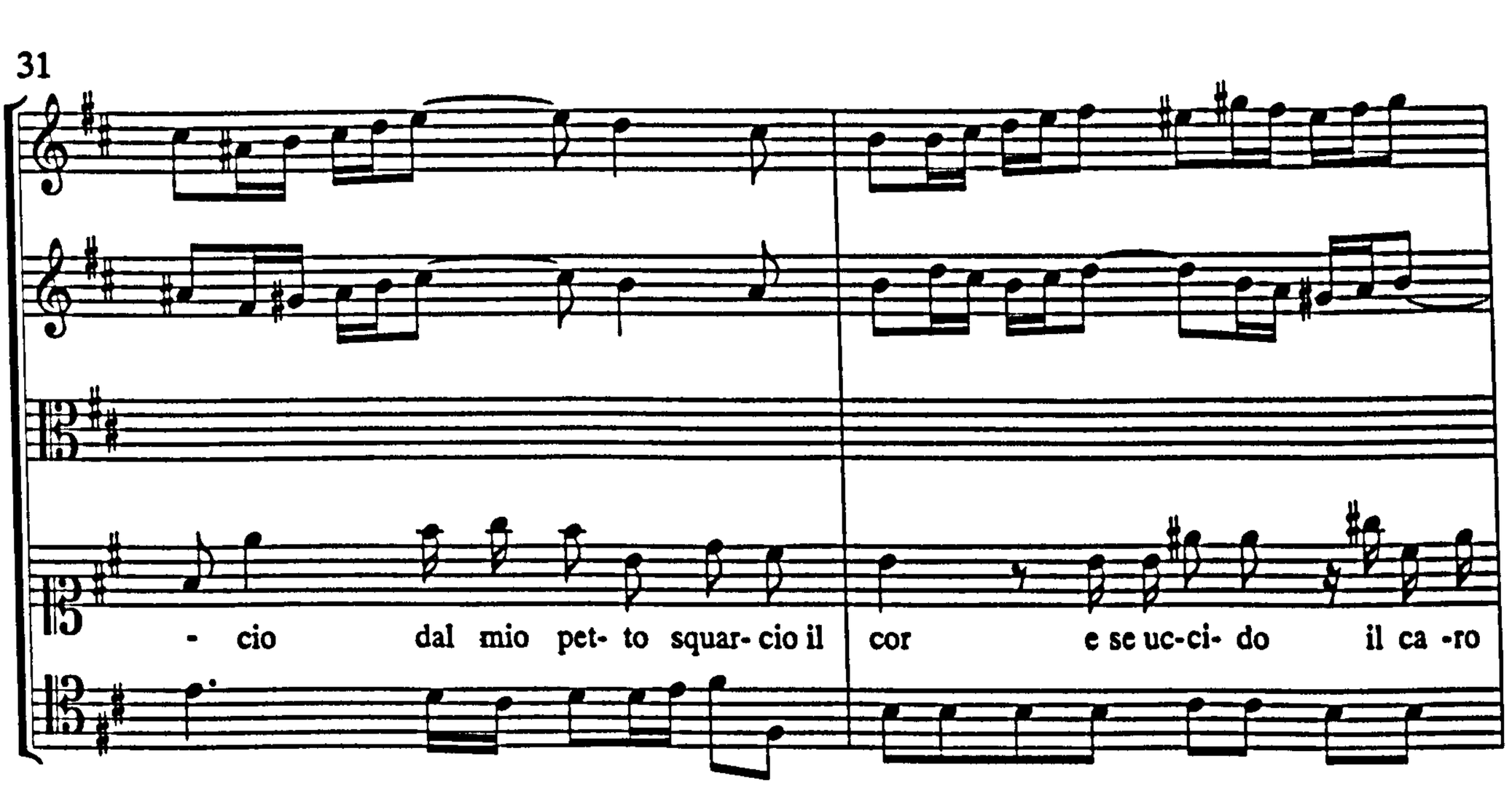
let - to squar - cia l'al - ma dal mio pet - to e se uc - ci - do il ca - ro

V. solo

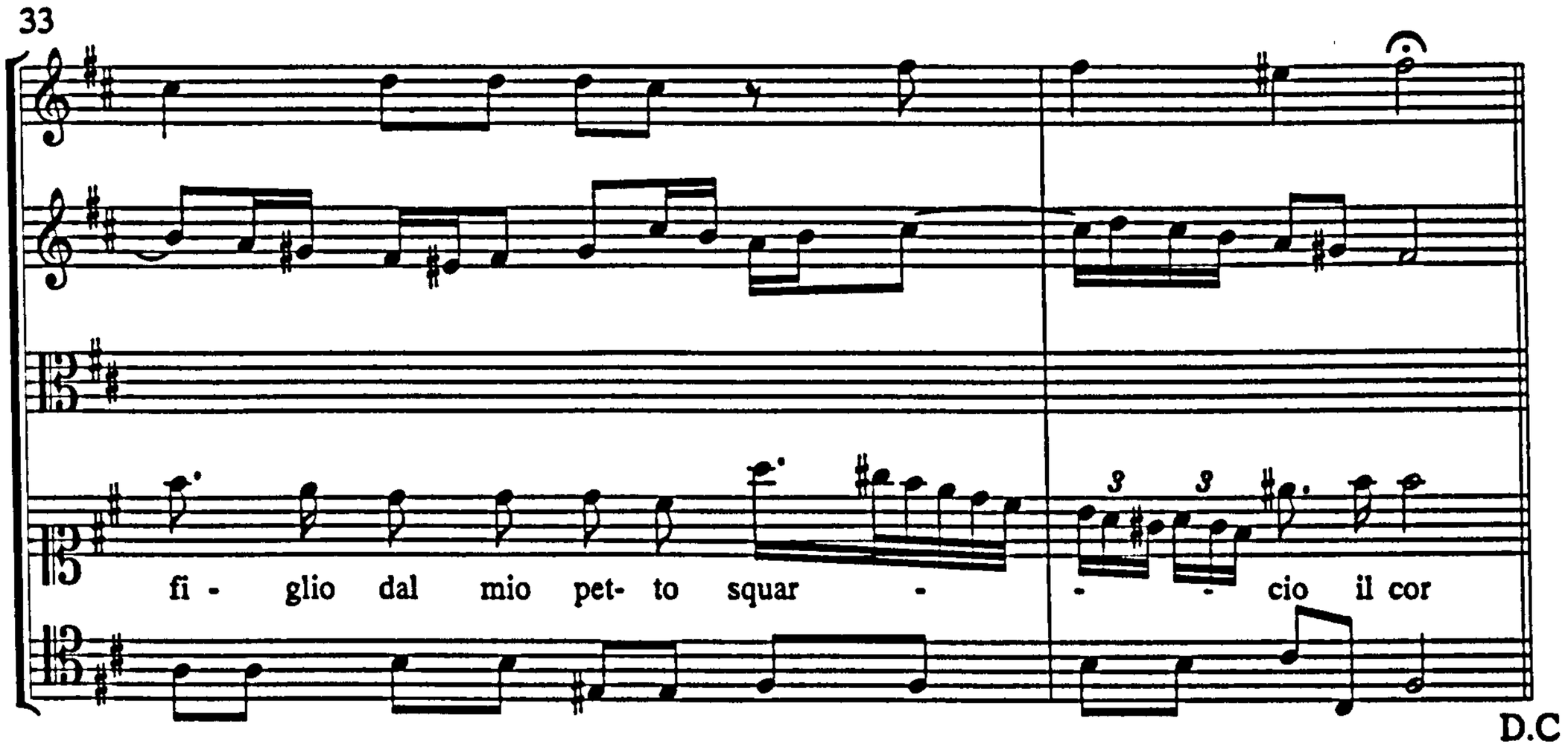
29


segue
fi - glio dal mio pet - to squar

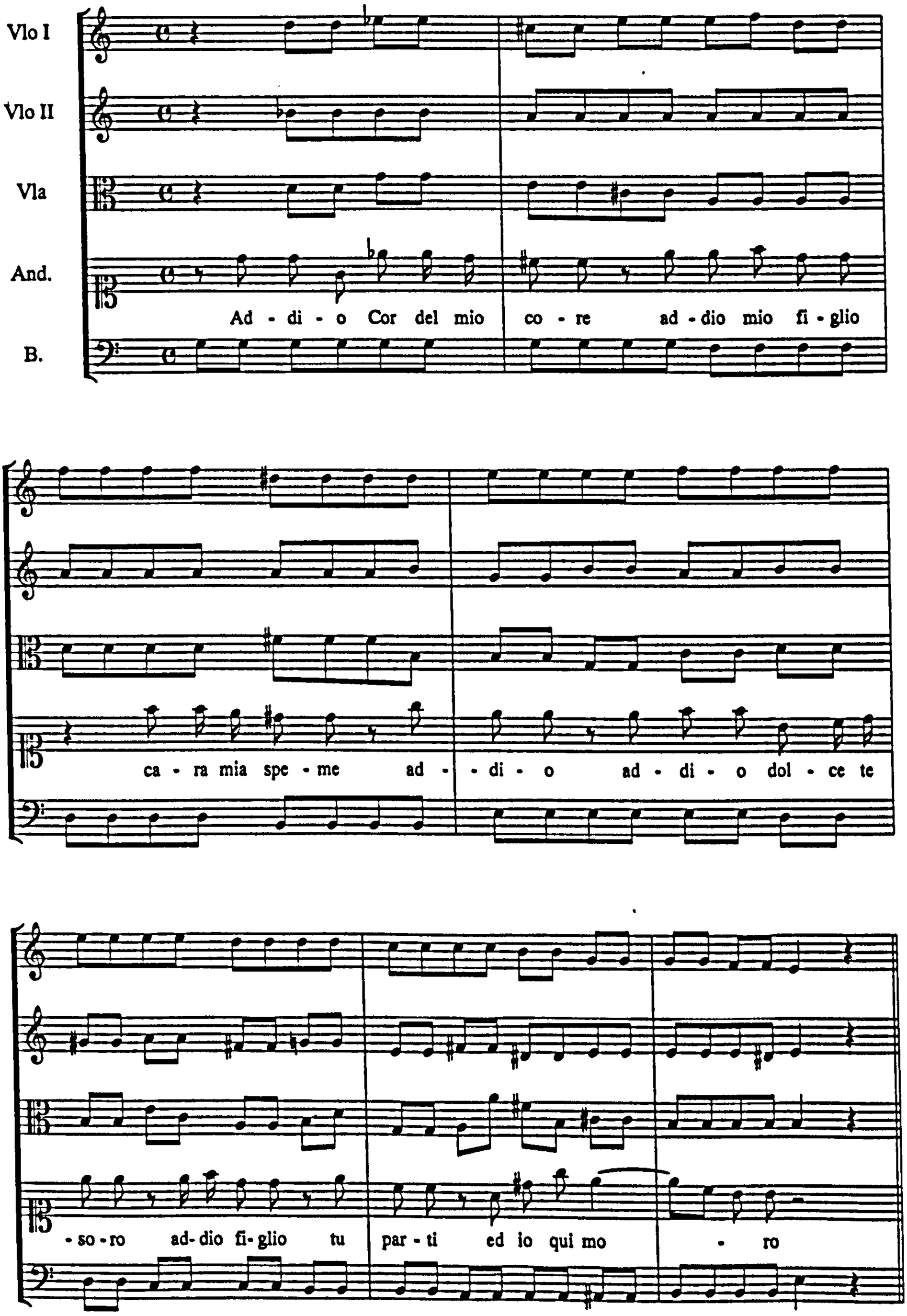
31


- cio dal mio pet- to squar- cio il cor e se uc-ci- do il ca -ro

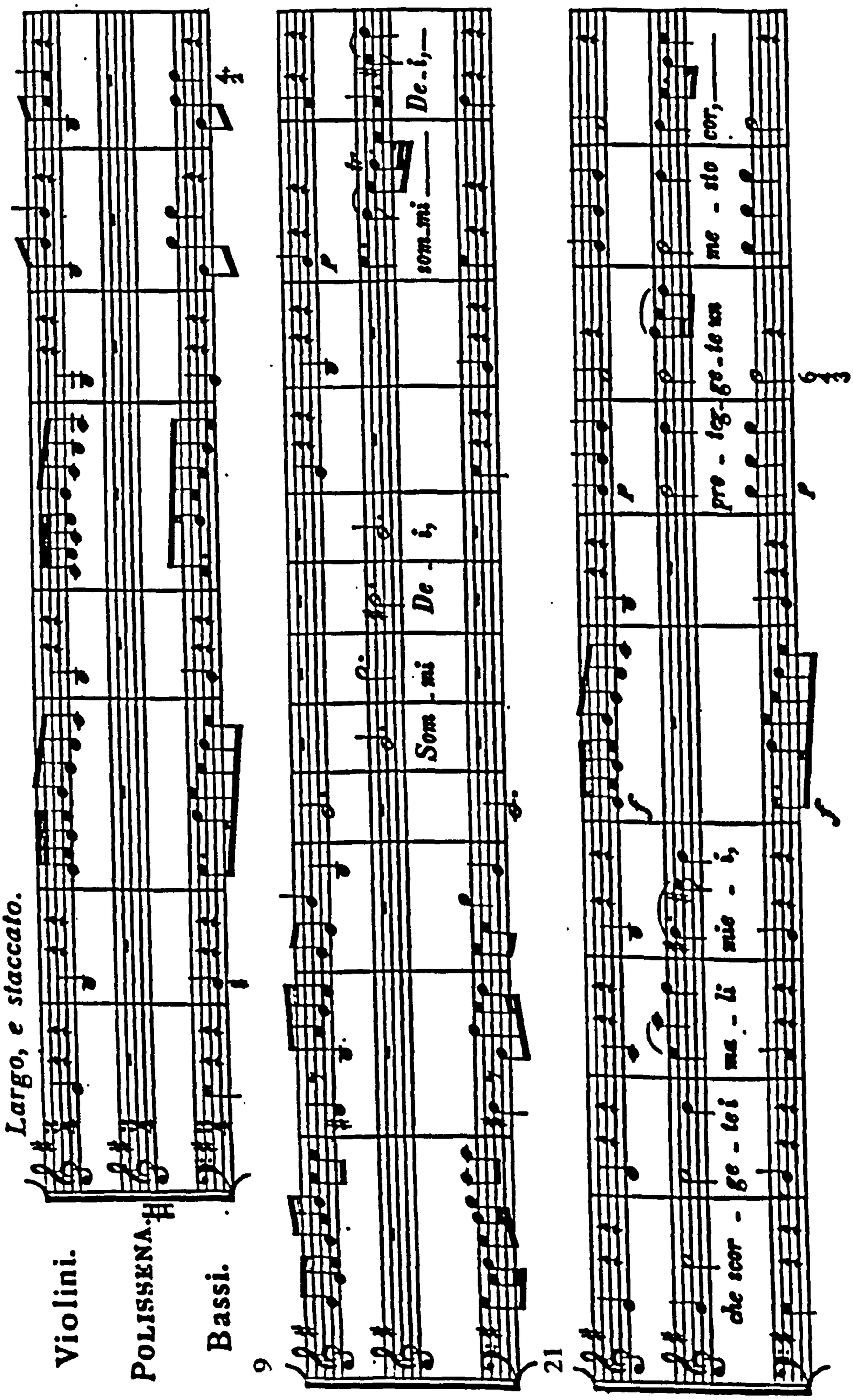
continued



Example 6.4. Gasparini, *Astianatte* (Milan, 1722) II,x, acc.recitative of Andromaca, 'Addio' (GB-Lbl Add. 14,233)



Example 7.1. George Frideric Handel, *Radamisto* (London, December 1720) I,i, aria of Polissena 'Sommi Dei'



31

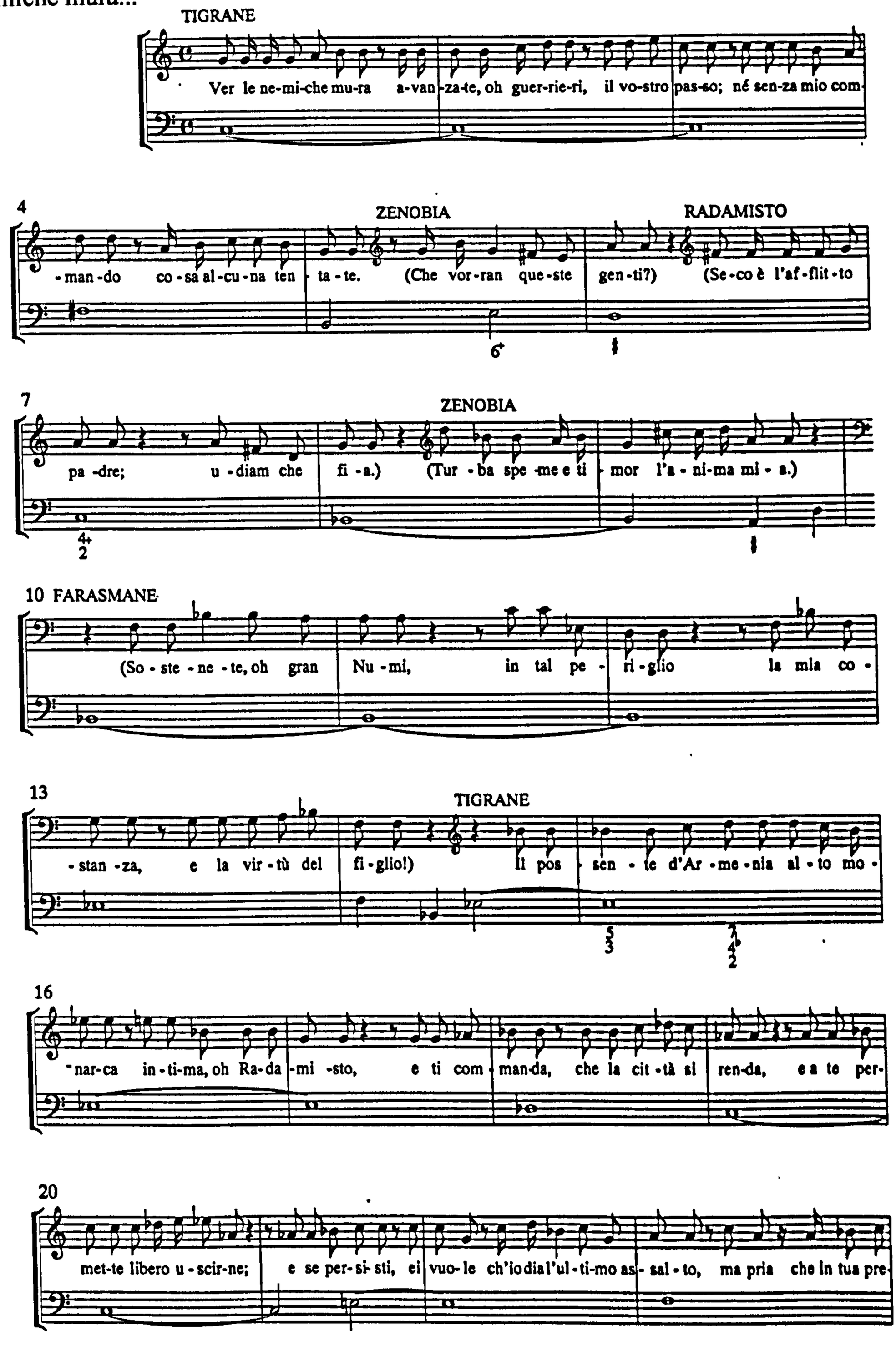
pro - teg - ge - te un - me - sto cor, sommi De - i! som - mi De - i!

40

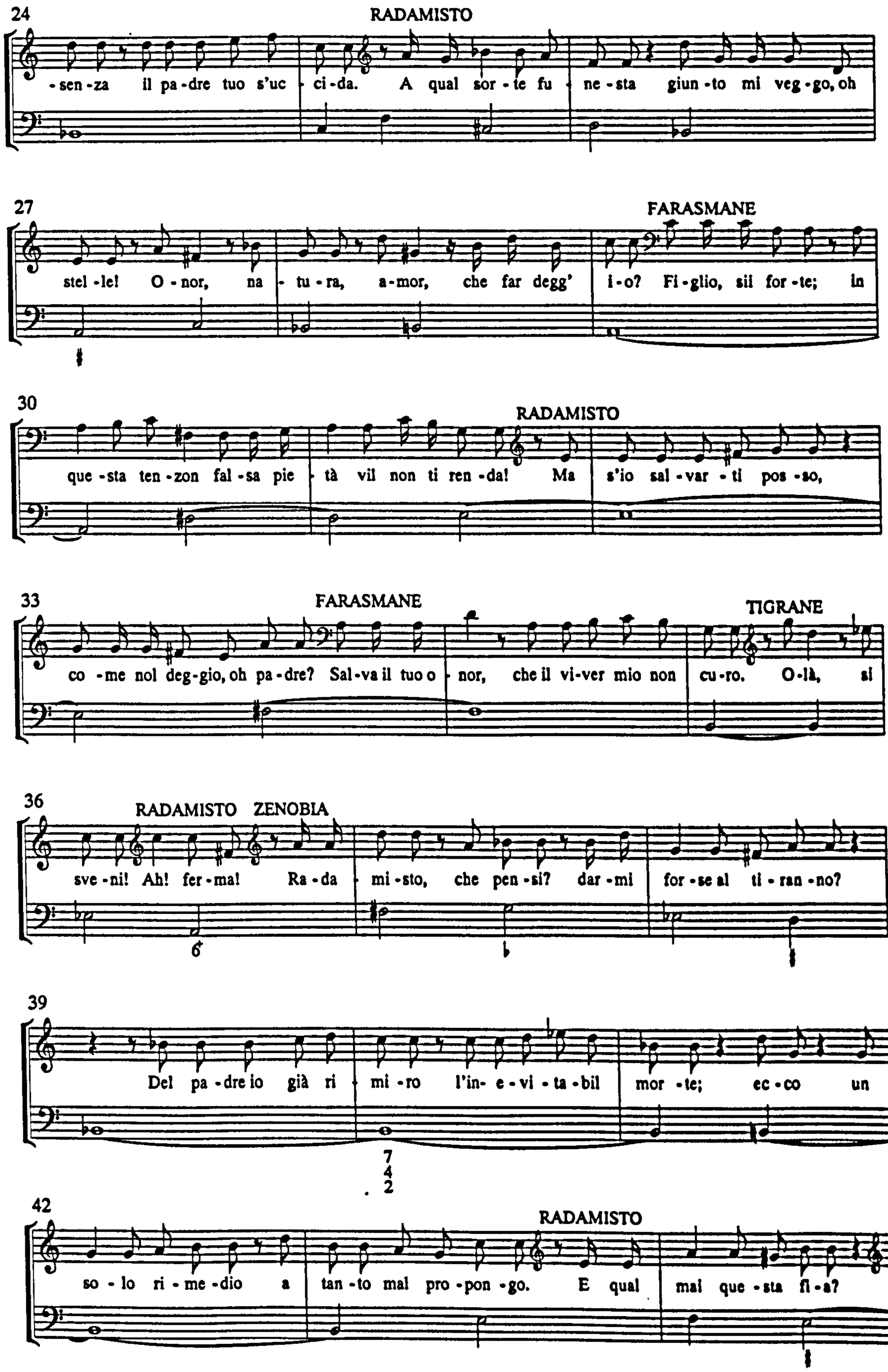
pro - teg ge - te un me - sto cor, pro - teg ge - te un me - sto cor!

48

Example 7.2 Handel, *Radamisto* (London, December 1720) I,v, recitative 'Ver le nemiche mura...'



continued


24
RADAMISTO
-sen-za il pa-dre tuo s'uc-ci-da. A qual sor-te fu-ne-sta giun-to mi veg-go, oh
27
FARASMANE
stel-le! O-nor, na-tu-ra, a-mor, che far degg' i-o? Fi-glio, sii for-te; in
30
RADAMISTO
que-sta ten-zon fal-sa pie-tà vil non ti ren-da! Ma s'io sal-var-ti pos-so,
33
FARASMANE
TIGRANE
co-me nol deg-gio, oh pa-dre? Sal-va il tuo o-nor, che il vi-ver mio non cu-ro. O-là, si
36
RADAMISTO ZENOBIA
sve-ni! Ah! fer-ma! Ra-da-mi-sto, che pen-si? dar-mi for-se al ti-ran-no?
39
Del pa-dre io già ri-mi-ro l'in-e-vi-ta-bil mor-te; ec-co un
42
RADAMISTO
so-lo ri-me-dio a tan-to mal pro-pon-go. E qual mal que-sta fi-a?

45 ZENOBIA

La mor - te mi - a; deh! vie - ni, io là t'a - spet - to o - ve dell' al - ta

48

reg - gia è il più rac - chiu - so lo - co, men - tre non vo' che a tuoi guer - rie - ri a

51

van-ti u - si un at - to mio spo - so, che pa - rer può cru - del, quan - do è pie - to - so.

Appendix 2

In addition to a transcription of the *scenario I tre principi di Salerno* discussed in the main text (transcribed by Adolfo Bartoli in *Scenari inediti della Commedia dell'Arte*), I have chosen to provide the reader with a transcription of the two unpublished versions of the same *scenario* found in I-Rc Cod. 4186 and I-Nn ms. XI AA 41. The transcription of the *scenario* from the *Ciro Monarca* collection is my own, whereas the Casamarciano version has been transcribed by Francesco Cotticelli.[1]

I tre principi di Salerno
[I-Fn Magliabechiano II.I.80]

Interlocutori:
Oronte - Fabio - Lionello (fratelli)
Briseida (moglie di Oronte)
Rosetta (serva)
Pandolfo - Ubaldo - Dottore (Consiglieri)
Capitano e soldati
Cola (servo di Lionello)
Stoppino
Ombra di Briseida
Ombra di Lionello
Ombra di Rosetta

La scena si finge in Salerno

ATTO I

scena 1 cortile
Oronte e consiglieri

Discorre Oronte sopra la ribellata città di N.N., dice aver l'esercito all'ordine, chiede consiglio, se deve andare, o mandare uno de' suoi fratelli; Consiglieri esortano andare in persona, lui consente; e in questo

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[1] I would like to thank Francesco Cotticelli for kindly providing me with his transcription of the *scenario* from the Casamarciano-Croce collection. A transcription and discussion of the entire collection is found in his *Contributo alla storia della Commedia dell'Arte a Napoli: I manoscritti Casamarciano* (Ph.D Diss., Università degli Studi di Salerno, Università degli Studi di Napoli 'Federico II' and Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1998).

scena 2
Fabio e suddetti

Dice a Oronte aver pensato andar contro i ribelli, Oronte voler andar lui, che Fabio resti al governo; li dà ordine sopra l'amministrazione, e tutti via.

scena 3 città
Rosetta e Cola

Fanno scena d'amore, dicono andare alla guerra, Cola non voler andare, doppo si danno fede di sposi.

scena 4 camera
Fabio e Ubaldo

Fabio si scopre amante di Briseida, Ubaldo lo consiglia, lui la vuole, e comanda che vadia a parlarli, che in termine di due ore glie la conduca a' suoi appartamenti, e non lo facendo, pena la vita; Ubaldo confuso parte.

scena 5
Lionello e Cola

Fanno scena sopra la guerra, e che Cola sia all'ordine per andare con il padrone sotto pena della vita, perché vuole seguire Oronte; parte e resta Cola

scena 6
Ubaldo e Cola

Ubaldo fa scena sopra le due ore, esagera contro il Principe, in questa Cola fa scena equivoca, Ubaldo per aver a condurre Briseida, Cola sopra la guerra, alla fine s'intendono, Ubaldo prega Cola che non dica niente a nessuno, lui che non parlerà, va via per andare a dirlo al suo padrone, resta Ubaldo; e in questo

scena 7
Ubaldo e Fabio

Domanda Fabio a Ubaldo se ha parlato a Briseida che è venuto lettere a Fabio del suo marito, che però vadia per esse; chiama; e in questo

scena 8
Rosetta, Briseida e detto

Rosetta fa scena con Ubaldo, doppo chiama Briseida. Ubaldo dice esser venute lettere del suo marito, però vadia da Fabio; essa tutt'allegra parte, e tutti via.

scena 9
Leonello e Cola

Domanda se si è messo all'ordine per andare alla guerra, Cola conta di Fabio e di Briseida, Leonello irato parte.

scena 10 camera da letto
Fabio, doppo Leonello e Cola e Briseida

Fabio scopre l'amor suo a Briseida, lei non vuole, lui con violenza, in questo Lionello impedisce, Fabio irato parte, con dire chi la fa l'aspetti, Briseida parte, e ringrazia Leonello, quale non teme; finisce l'Atto primo.

ATTO II

scena 1
Fabio, Pandolfo, Ubaldo, Cola da parte

Fabio ordina che chi ammazzerà Leonello averà centomila scudi di taglia, e si bandisca; loro contro la crudeltà di Fabio, e tutti via

scena 2
Leonello, Rosetta, Cola e Briseida

Leonello sopra la crudeltà del fratello, Cola che ci è la taglia di centomila scudi, lui si duole, fa battere da Briseida, vien Rosetta, lazzi con Cola, chiama Briseida; Leonello dice che per sua salvezza e del suo onore è necessario andarsene al campo del suo marito, però si veste da uomo, e esca per la porta del giardino per non essere osservata; restano d'accordo; il simile fra Rosetta con Cola, e tutti via.

scena 3
Stoppino, Fabio, Capitano e due altri

Fa pubblicare la taglia contro Leonello, ed ordina a questi sconosciuti, che privino di vita Briseida, Rosetta, Leonello e Cola, non dubitino che li servirà di scudo, e via; loro restano per pigliare i posti del giardino e per tutto.

scena 4
Briseida, Rosetta, e suddetti

Vedono venire questi due, gli credono Leonello e Cola, gli ammazzano, doppo si avvedono esser Briseida e Rosetta, partono per andare contro Fabio.

scena 5
Pandolfo e Leonello

Che non sa come fuggir l'ira del fratello, vuol salvarsi in casa di Pandolfo, lui che faccia, sarebbe la sua rovina; lui entra per forza; Pandolfo resta.

scena 6
Cola, Fabio, Capitano ed altri e Pandolfo

Cola dice come gli è stato dato la caccia, per ucciderlo, cerca del suo padrone; in questo vede Fabio, e fugge; dice Fabio aver cercato del fratello, ha sospetto sia in casa di Pandolfo, l'interroga, lui nega, Fabio vuol chiarirsi, manda il Capitano in casa, entra, e poi esce intimorito, perché Leonello l'ha bastonato; Fabio entra lui perché Leonello l'ha bastonato; Fabio entra lui perché lo vuole ammazzare di propria mano; doppo escono facendo questione; Leonello cade, loro via; Leonello in terra esagera la crudeltà del fratello; in questo

scena 7
Cola e detto

Vede il padrone che muore, sua lazzi; chiede da scrivere, Cola porta il tutto, lui scrive a Oronte col sangue, dà la lettera a Cola che la porti, e muore; Cola via; e in questo

scena 8
Fabio, Capitano e soldati, e doppo Cola

Fabio vuol morto Cola acciò non porti la nuova a Oronte, in questo lo vedono, lo vogliono ammazzare, lui si difende con frusta e altro.

ATTO III

scena 1
Fabio e tre Consiglieri

Ha presentito come il suo fratello Oronte torna vittorioso dalla ribellata città, che già è vicino, però è tempo che loro l'aiutino; ordina che lontano due miglia si prepari un nobil rinfresco, e vuole con potente veleno acconcino tutte le vivande, acciò resti estinto il fratello ed altri; poi che restando lui erede dello Stato gli remunererà; parte per il veleno, loro restano, voler promettere il tutto, e volere scoprire il tradimento a Oronte.

scena 2
Oronte e Corte, doppo ombra di Briseida

Gli par mill'anni vedere la sua consorte e fratelli, si sente stanco, siede, si addormenta, vien l'ombra di Briseide, dice *vendetta vendetta amato sposo, se brami il mio riposo*; in questo

scena 3
Ombra di Leonello, ombra di Rosetta, suddetti

Dice l'ombra di Leonello *vendetta amato fratello, se brami che riposi Lionello.* In questo vien l'ombra di Rosetta, dice *vendetta, acciò riposi Rosetta.* In questo si sveglia Oronte, tremante, non vede nessuno, domanda al Capitano se ha visto alcuno, dice di no; in questo

scena 4
Cola vestito di bruno, ridicolo, e suddetti

Dà nuova del successo, dà la lettera, Oronte legge, esagera, vanno alla città.

scena 5
Fabio e Pandolfo

Fa scena, crede sia morto Oronte, in questo Pandolfo dà nuova come è arrivato Oronte, Fabio si duole, ma però non teme, perché negherà il tutto, e va.

scena 6 <u>camera</u>
Pandolfo, Ubaldo, Oronte e Fabio

Oronte interroga i consiglieri i quali dicono tutto, lui si duole, in questo vien Fabio, vuol salutare il fratello, li dà uno schiaffo, lo rimprovera, dà la sentenza che sia ammazzato con i complici, Fabio condotto via, Oronte si ritira, e tutti via

scena ultima

Cola a suo modo, via; Fabio esagera, mette il collo sotto la mannaia, si mostra la testa al popolo, e finisce.

<u>robe necessarie</u>
Manti per l'Ombre
Mannaia e Carcere
Apparato nero
Lettera di sangue
Bruno per Cola

La morte di Leonello e Brisseida

[I-Rc Cod.4186 *Ciro Monarca, Dell'opere regie*]

Personaggi:
-Principe Oronte
-Principe Fabio
-Principe Lionello fratelli
-Corte
-Brisseida moglie d'Oronte
-Olivetta [e]
-Fioretta damigelle
-Magnifico [e]
-Dottore consiglieri
-Buffetto di corte
-Bertolino servo di Lionello
-Soldati

Robbe:
Sangue, e [pasta], e tamburo, e [lumi], scala, armi, e barbe.
Tre vestiti da marinari. Due sedie d'appoggio. Candelette. Boccale. Bacile
iscirigatore, cortello [cartello?], e libro.
Palazzo in mezzo, lumi di dentro per gli spettacoli. Palazzo a man dritta. Bosco da una banda.
Cappelli da Hebrei, un manto per far l'ombra di Brisseida. Corde per li spettacoli; Palo per impalar il Dottore. Habito da Bertol.o per travestir Olivetta.

ATTO I (Castiglia)

Principe Oronte, Fabio, Magnifico, Dottore, Buffetto, corte[2]
[Oronte] fa sua narrativa circa la città ribellata, poi domanda parere se sia bene l'andar lui, o mandar li fratelli, ogn'uno conclude, che debba andare lui, che più facilmente riporterà la vittoria. Principe Oronte contento raccomanda al Principe Fabio lo stato, assieme con Leonello, e Brisseida, e parte Oronte. Prencipe e corte restano. Principe accenna al popolo l'amor di Brisseida, poi rivolto ai Consiglieri dicendoli che vuol mandare il Principe Leonello suo fratello al campo in soccorso d'Oronte, poi fa appartar tutti, Magnifico rimane, al quale narra l'amor di Brisseida sua cognata. Mag.co fa sue riprensioni; Prencipe lo minaccia di morte, lui pauroso e promette, e tutti entrano

Leonello lodando la guerra
Bertolino lodando la (cucina). Leonello dice voler andare al campo, dov'è suo fratello. Bertolino l'esorta a non partire, fanno più contrasti, in fine Leonello comanda che metta all'ordine li cavalli, e parte, Bertolino resta (sopra ciò) in questo

---

[2] In the manuscript, all names are given on the left-hand side of the page.

Magnifico
Magnifico di corte (svariando) per l'ordine datogli dal principe, fa scena in ambiguo con Bertol.o in fine Pantal.e gli scuopre il tutto, e che lo palesi a Leonello, acciò vi trovi rimedio. Pantal.e in Palazzo, Bertol. via

Prencipe, Pantalone
discorrendo sopra l'ordine datogli, Pantalone che son cose da pensarci per esser cose pericolose, lui esser risoluto volergli parlare, fa battere da Clarice[3]

Clarice, Olivetta
quali fanno scena con Pantalone poi gli ordina che chiami la Principessa, (Donzella) chiama Brisseida

Brisseida
fanno (accoglienze), Prencipe fa scena confusa, non gli da cuore di scuoprirsi, offerendosi alla Principessa che li comandi, e la licenzia. Brisseida e Donne in casa. Prencipe di nuovo minaccia di morte Pantalone, se in termine di tutto quel giorno non gli mena Brisseida nelli suoi appartamenti, et entra Pantalone (destra) per avvisare (sopra ciò) dicendo se sia meglio servire il Prencipe in un'azione così infame, o perder la vita; in fine risolve che sia ben fatto per salvarsi la vita, e via.

Bertolino
cercando Leonello, in questo

Leonello
lo vede, qual domanda se sono all'ordine li cavalli, fanno scena in ambiguo, in fine gli scuopre il tutto, lui infuriato volersi vendicare, et entrano in palazzo

Magnifico, Clarice, Brisseide
(Magn.) di strada voler parlare a Brisseide, e batte da Clarice quale intese la volontà di Pantalone chiama Pantalone mezzo confuso, infine dice esser venute lettere del Prencipe Oronte, e che le ha nelle mani il Principe Fabio, lei allegra si fa menar da Pant.e a braccio in Palazzo, Clarice resta, in questo

Buffetto
quale con lazzi si scuopre innamorato di Clarice, in questo

Bertolino
quale con lazzi si scuopre innamorato di Olivetta[4]

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[3] The name of Clarice does not appear in the list of characters.
[4] In the list of characters, the name of Olivetta had been deleted and subsequently reinstated. Next to it, there is the deleted name of Clarice.

Olivetta
fanno scena amorosa in quanto, Bertol.o dice a Olivetta volergli portare certe robbe, che ha abbuscate in corte, Donne in casa, Buffetto, Bertolino in corte.

Brisseida, Prencipe, Leonello
di Palazzo maravigliandosi del Prencipe, quale la vien pregando al suo amore, e la vuol sforzare, in questo (Leonello) in disparte intende il tutto, Brisseide rimprovera il principe per traditor del suo proprio sangue, Prencipe mette mano al pugnale, gli vuol (dare), Leonello li tiene il braccio, Prencipe minacciandolo entra, Brisseida in casa, Leonello per strada.

Bertol.o
col fagotto, in questo

Marinari
gli fanno la burla, e finisce l'atto P.o

ATTO II

Prencipe, Magnifico, Dottore
Ordina il bando con taglia m/4 [4000?] scudi a chi condurrà Leonello, e Bertol.o vivi, o morti, e tutti in corte, Magn.o

Buffetto
per strada[5]

Bertolino
in disparte aver inteso il tutto, in questo

Leonello
Bertolino gli dice il tutto, lui coraggioso voler rimediare fa battere da

Olivetta, Clarice
qual, intese la volontà del Prencipe chiamano

Brisseida
saluta il cognato, e gli dice il tutto, volerla fuggir per scampar ambi dalle mani del tiranno, e che gli manderà uno dei suoi habiti per la porta del giardino, il simile fa Bertolino, e partono. Donne in casa, Bertol.o resta, in questo

Buffetto
con tamburo, Bertol.o si ritira, sente il bando, fa lazzi con il tamburo, et entra, Bertol.o per strada.

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[5] It is not clear from the text whether Magnifico, and perhaps Dottore, remain 'per strada'.

Leonello
quale lo vien pregando a volerlo liberare dalla furia del fratello

Pantalone
lo mette in sua casa, Pantal.e in Palazzo

Olivetta
vestita da Bartol.o volersene fuggire, in questo

Dottore
suoi lazzi, l'ammazza, poi chiamano.

Prencipe, Magn.co e corte
Accortosi del tutto, che quella sia Brisseida, et Olivetta gli ordina sepoltura, e che Leonello sia vicino alla città fa fare la cerca in casa di Pantalone e poi fuora.

Leonello
(haver) ammazzato il soldato, e con quell'habito scampa la vita, Prencipe lo conosce, fanno l'abbatimento, poi dentro, poi fuora

Leonello
ferito, cadendo, fa suo lamento, in questo

Bertol.o
consola Leonello, qual scrive la lettera, ordinandogli, che la dia ad Oronte suo fratello, e muore, Bertol.o lo porta a seppellire.

Buffetto
con un diamante voler denari in questo

Dottore, Hebreo
non havere, ma che gli li farà imprestare da un Hebreo suo amico, chiama (hebreo) inteso il tutto, promette a Buffetto, Dottore via, Hebreo dentro, poi fuora con li altri Hebrei, gli fanno la burla facendo finir l'atto.

ATTO III

Prencipe, Pantalone, Dottore
haver havuta nuova, che Oronte viene, ordina che si vadi ad avvelenare le vivande al Casino, et entra, loro sopra il mal'animo del Principe, in questo

Bertol.o
loro gli sono addosso, in fine si congiurano contro il Principe e partono per andare ad incontrare Oronte

Oronte, soldati
fa sua scena, si (pone) in sedia a dormire in questo

Ombra di Brisseide
fa suo lamento, e passate due volte

Oronte
svegliandosi ammirato non saper che cosa sia, in questo

Pantalone, Dottore Bertolino, Buffetto
trovano Oronte, gli narrano il tutto, Bertolino gli appresenta la lettera, Oronte suo lamento, in questo

Prencipe
per abbracciar il fratello, lui lo rimprovera et ordina la giustizia, in questo appariscono spettacoli

Clarice
che è stata ammazzata la sua Padrona, facendo finir l'opera.

Li tre principi di Salerno

[I-Nn ms.XI AA 41 Raccolta Casamarciano-Croce]

Personaggi:
Oronte
Don Carlo
Lionello, prencipi
Briscida principessa
Pimpinella serva
Covello servo di Lionello
Dottore
Pascarello, consiglieri
Policinella servo di Corte
Boia e Sbirri
Due Ombre e Morte
Genti armate

Robbe:
Un stile, trombetta, sangue
Forche, mandaia, palo
Carta, penna
Vestito da sbriscio
per Policinella
Manti per le 2 ombre
Vestito e mascara di Morte
Vestito di Covello
per Pimpinella
Vestito di Lionello
per Briscida
Vestito di lutto
per Covello
Apparenze luttuose
per li spettacoli

Città
Camera
Palazzino in campagna
Teatro per giustizia

Salerno

ATTO I scena prima
Oronte, Don Carlo, Dottore, Pascarello, Covello e Policinella

Sopra la ribellione de popoli calabresi, ognuno dà il suo conseglio. Oronte risolve andare di persona e lascia il governo a Don Carlo et il comando dell'armi a Lionello, e via, accompagnato da tutti, restando solo Policinella, che per licenziarsi da Pimpinella chiama

scena 2
Pimpinella e detti

Fatta scena di spartenza, ella in casa, quello via

scena 3
Don Carlo e Dottore

Don Carlo sopra l'amor di Briscida, lo scopre al Dottore, quale lo dissuade, Don Carlo li dà ordine che fra due hore lo porti alle sue stanze, e via

scena 4
Lionello e Covello

Ascolta da Covello la partenza d'Oronte, e dice volere andarci, dando ordine a Covello per li cavalli e preparamento fra due hore, e via, Covello resta lagnandosi del poco spazio delle due hore; in questo

scena 5
Dottore e Covello

Dottore sopra il breve termine di due hore, fanno scena equivoca con Covello, alla fine Dottore scopre il tutto, come anche Covello, Dottore prega Covello a tenerlo segreto, e via, Covello resta; in questo

scena 6
Lionello e Covello

Adirato per la tardanza di Covello, quale li scopre il tutto, Lionello fa suo(o) delirio su questo, e via

Scena 7
Don Carlo e Dottore

Rimproverando il Dottore, che non l'ha obedito, Dottore si scusa per non haver potuto trovare con che pretesto portarla, Don Carlo, che li dichi esservi lettera d'Oronte, e via, Dottore batte

Scena 8
Pimpinella, Dottore e poi Briscida

Pimpinella, poi chiama Briscida, quale havendo inteso dal Dottore della lettera va via con quello, resta Pimpinella; in questo

Scena 9
Lionello, Covello e Pimpinella

Pimpinella domandata di Briscida li dice il tutto, quelli via ad impedire, Pimpinella in casa

Scena 10
Don Carlo e Briscida (Camera)

Don Carlo procurando sforzare Briscida, quale fa suoi risentimenti; in questo

Scena 11
Lionello e detti

Lionello l'impedisce, e con ammirationi, riprensioni e chiuse finisce l'atto primo

ATTO II scena prima
Policinella solo (Città)

Da sbriscio, narrando suo ritorno; in questo

Scena 2
Dottore e detto

Fatti lazzi dell'elemosina, Dottore alla fine lo conosce e lo prende in Corte, Policinella via, Dottore resta; in questo

Scena 3
Don Carlo e Dottore

Don Carlo li dà ordine che facci buttar il banno sopra le teste di Lionello e Covello, e via, Dottore resta; in questo

Scena 4
Policinella e Dottore

Dottore li dà ordine che butti il banno, e via, Policinella prende la trombetta; in questo

Scena 5
Covelli e Policinella

Policinella butta il banno, Covello da parte lo sente e fa suoi lazzi con Policinella, quale spaventato fugge, Covello resta; in questo

Scena 6
Lionello e Covello

Covello li dice del banno, et appontano di fuggursene con Briscida, e chiamano

Scena 7
Briscida, Pimpinella e detti

Donne si contentano della fuga, risolvendo vestirsi Briscida con gl'abiti di Lionello e Pimpinella coll'abiti di Covello, donne di casa a vestirsi, e quelli a preparar la fuga via

Scena 8
Don Carlo e Dottore

Don Carlo li dà un stile, acciò uccida Lionello e Covello, promettendoli ricchezze, e via, Dottore resta e chiama

Scena 9
Policinella e Dottore

Dottore lo persuade ad occidere Lionello e Covello per guadagnare, dandoli il stile, e via, Policinella resta; in questo

Scena 10
Briscida, Pimpinella e Policinella

Donne vestite da huomini, Policinella credendoli Lionello e Covello l'occide ambedue, e poi chiama

Scena 11
Don Carlo, Dottore e detti

Vedeno l'occisi, Don Carlo si rallegra, poi accortosi del sbaglio piange la morte di Briscida, (e) dà ordine al Dottore per la sepoltura, e via, Dottore l'ordina a Policinella, e via, Policinella entra con li cadaveri

Scena 12
Covello solo

Havere osservato il tutto; in questo

Scena 13
Lionello e Covello

Covello li dice il soccesso, e che si salvi, e via, Lionello resta; in questo

Scena 14
Dottore e Lionello

Dice a Lionello che si salvi nel suo quarto da Don Carlo, che lo perseguita, e via, Lionello resta, e vuole entrare nel suo quarto; in questo

Sc(e)na 15
Morte e Lionello

Morte l(o) (s)paventa, e via, Lionello sbigottito cade; in questo

Scena 16
Covello e Lionello

Covello l'aiuta, e lo fa salvare nel suo quarto, Lionello entra, egli via

Scena 17
Don Carlo, Dottore e Genti armate

Don Carlo vuol cercare in quel quarto, Dottore lo trattiene, Don Carlo entra per forza colle Genti

Scena 18
Lionello e detti

Lionello esce combattendo col fratello, quale lo ferisce, e parte col Dottore e le Genti, Lionello resta moribondo; in questo

Scena 19
Covello e Lionello

Vede in quella forma il padrone, quale si fa dare carta e penna, e scrive una letterá col sangue ad Oronte, e poi muore, Covello lo porta a sepelire, (e) finisce l'atto secondo

ATTO III scena prima
Don Carlo e Dottore

Don Carlo li dà ordine che prepari veleni per attossicare Oronte adesso che sta per venire, Dottore fa sue difficoltà, poi (v)ia

Scena 2
Oronte e Pascarello (Palazzina in campagna)

Sua venuta, e voler riposare, e s'addormenta, Pascarello fa il medesimo; in questo

Scena 3
Ombra di Lionello e detti

Ombra chiede vendetta, e via, Oronte si sveglia, chiama Pascarello, si ammira nel sogno, e poi torna al riposo

Scena 4
(O)m(bra) di Briscida e detti

Ombra chiede vendetta, e via, Oronte si risveglia e chiama Pascarello; in questo

Scena 5
Covello e detti

Covello vestito di lutto dà la lettera, e racconta il tutto; in questo

Scena 6
Don Carlo, Dottore, Policinella e detti

Oronte in veder Don Carlo li dà un calcio, lo rimprovera, e comanda Don Carlo ad esserli troncata la testa, Policinella ad essere appiccato e Dottore ad essere impalato, sbirri li portano tutti tre ligati, Oronte fa sua esaggeratione, e via

Scena ultima

S'apre il domo, et appareno spettacoli di giustitia, si taglia la testa a Don Carlo, s'impicca Policinella, s'impala il Dottore, e con questi spettacoli finiscono l'opera.

Appendix 3

Carlo Sigismondo Capece, *I giochi troiani* (Roma, 1688)

Ecc.ma Sig.ra

Ricorre alla generosa protettione di V.Ecc.una Dama Spagnola, che per andare vestita all'Italiana, e con habito forsi mal tagliato al suo dosso, teme assai di non esser riconosciuta, e trattata come richiede la sua qualità: è figlia di padre nobile, essendo parto della famosa penna di D.Agostino di Salazar; et è di bellezza più che ordinaria, havendo tirato à se quante volte si è mostrata su i Teatri di Spagna l'universale affetto, et ammiratione de' spettatori; anzi nella prima, che vi comparve per solennizar il felicissimo Compleannos della Regina madre D.Marianna d'Austria, fù honorata della Regia presenza di quelle Cattoliche Maestà. A questi segni già mi persuado, che V.E. la riconosca per la famosa Comedia, intitolata *Los Jueyos Olimpicos*, la quale essendo toccata in sorte alla mia debolezza di tradurre al nostro idioma, et accomodare all'uso de' nostri drammi Italiani; hà gran ragione di temere, che parte l'inesperienza, parte anche la necessità, gli habbia se non tolte affatto, discolorite almeno le native bellezze. Onde per non vedersi presentemente esposta alle censure de' saggi, quando nella sua prima forma, non hà riportato che lodi, et applausi, hà pensato farsi scudo del glorioso nome di V.Ecc.[...] un'Opera, che vanta la sua prima origine da questa sì gloriosa natione (la Spagna), e scuserà l'ardire, che hò preso non meno di trasportarla, mentre in ciò hò ambito solo di obbedire un sovrano comando [...]

Cortese Lettore

Questo è il terzo Dramma ch'io ti presento, l'inventione del quale per obbedire à chi devo hò preso da una Celebre Comedia Spagnola, intitolata *Los Iueyos Olimpicos* di D.Agostino di Salazar: hò nondimeno stimato di poterlo con ogni sicurezza appropriare al mio nome, mosso dall'esempio, non solo de' moderni più famosi Authori, ma dall'istesso Terentio che nel Prologo dell'Andria non nega haver tolto da una comedia greca di Menandro, e l'argomento e molte altre cose di quella, e risponde à chi di ciò l'accusa: *Qui cum hunc accusant Nevium, accusant Plautum, Ennium accusant.* Anzi se in parte alcuna potessi lusingarmi di meritar la tua lode, sarebbe senza fallo in questo di essermi proposto ad imitare un esemplare sì bello; quando anche in ciò non fosse stata prevenuta la mia elettione dall'altrui saggio, et authorevol comando:

Che però quanto al soggetto mi dò à credere che sotto l'ombra d'un nome sì celebre, come è quello di D.Agostino di Salazar, possa riposar sicuro anch'il mio, et non habbia à temere delle tue censure. Et in vero se è lecito alla mia penna il parlarne, come di cosa non sua, ti dirà che devi particolarmente osservare in esso, e l'unità dell'attione, che havendo per primario ogetto gli amori di Enone, e Paride con il discoprimento di questo per figlio di Priamo v'intreccia, et annette sì artificiosamente il

secondo Episodio di Cassandra, e Corebo, che lo rende affatto inseparabile dalla favola principale.

E la facilità e destrezza nel maneggiar l'intrico, facendo nascere da un solo accidente, che è la caduta di Corebo l'occasione di tanti equivochi, gelosie, et affetti diversi, che và seminando nel proseguimento dell'Opera.

E l'imitazione esattissima del costume, havendo saputo conformare al gusto moderno l'idee dell'antico, massime ne' due Personaggi principali o protagonisti; poiche ti rappresenta Enone tutta amorosa, e fedele verso Paride, benche ingrato, quale appunto la concepisce Ovidio nella Epistola, che gli fa scrivere tra le sue Heroiche. E ti dimostra in Paride un genio vario, e mutabile nell'affetto facile ad invaghirsi non men, che à scordarsi; onde ben puoi ravvisarlo per quell'istesso che si fe lecito dopo rapire l'altrui consorte. Ben è vero che per non renderlo odioso à gli Auditori, et per obbedire al precetto Aristotelico, che vuole il costume buono almeno ne i Personaggi principali, hà procurato di moderare questa volubilità, et ingratitudine di Paride verso Enone col rispetto che fa portargli, e con farlo finalmente adherire alle di lei nozze: Oltre à che lo descrive dotato di tanta generosità, e valore, che con queste virtù ricopre à bastanza quel piccolo difetto. Ne in ciò contraviene all'Historia, ò sia favola antica, dalla quale vien dipinto per lascivo, molle, et effeminato, poiche tale si dice che divenisse dopo gli amori impudichi di Helena, per altro, chi non sà, che prima fu stimato degno di render giustizia anche à i Numi, e fu di tal forza, e valore, che Virgilio par esagerar quello di Darete nel 5.libro della sua Eneide, lasciò scritto: *Solus qui Paridem solitus contendere contra*, etc.

Nel qual luogo Servio, et Ascensio commentandolo asseriscono che Paride in certame agonale superasse l'istesso Hettore, e che allora fosse riconosciuto per di lui fratello, e figlio di Priamo; si che in questo l'Authore non solo non si allontana, ma si conforma totalmente alla traditione antica.

Sarei troppo lungo s'io volessi accennarti tutto ciò che di rimarcabile hò ritrovato in questo soggetto tanto più che la mia intentione è solo di scusarmi, et addurti le ragioni, per le quali me ne è convenuto in più luoghi allontanare dall'orme. Confesso pero che in qualche parte l'ho fatto solo per seguire l'insegnamento d'Horatio: *Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus interpres.*

E per fuggire che di me non si dica *O imitatores servum pecus.*

E però nel bel principio mi son fatto lecito mutar il titolo de' *Giochi Olimpici* in quello de' *Giochi Troiani*, parendomi questo più adatto al luogo che rappresenta la scena, massime che l'antica Roma, chiamava con tal nome di ludo Troiano questi spettacoli di tornei, e finte battaglie.

Ho stimato ancora opportuno di dare à Cassandra il nome supposto d'Astrea, parendomi, che il primo, come ad ogn'uno ben noto la discoprisse subito per sorella di Paride, e conseguentemente togliesse all'Auditori l'aspettatione del successo; l'istessa cagione mi ha indotto à far che Priamo non sappia cosa alcuna della vita de' figli; e che Niso gle la tenga occulta fino all'ultima scena, nella quale la necessità di liberar Paride dalla morte gle lo fà dire, conformandomi più all'Historia, che vole solo ad Hecuba fosse ciò noto.

Che l'occasione delli accennati giochi, i quali danno il titolo all'opera fosse la translatione del Palladio dai boschi suburbani di Troia dentro la città per l'oracolo hauto da Priamo che con questo l'assicurava da ogni insulto nemico: è parimente sol mia

inventione appoggiata à quello che del sudetto Palladio hanno finto Homero e gli altri antichi Poeti, per poter trasportare l'attione dal bosco ove la ristringe l'author spagnolo, anche alla Città, et alla Regia, e far mostra di quelle pompose scene che adornano il Teatro, ove hà l'honore di esser rappresentata. Oltre che per facilitar che Priamo riconosca, e riceva un figlio, la di cui morte haveva ordinata per salvar la patria, et il Regno dal minacciato eccidio, non cade fuor di proposito, che prima venga assicurato per altraparte da ogni timore.

Il lamento, et il sogno di Enone nel fine del primo atto è ancora mio ritrovamento per dar motivo all'Intermedio, nel quale un nobilissimo, et sottilissimo ingegno ti farà vedere e travedere con meraviglia quanto possa la forza dell'arte.

Finalmente l'oracolo di Pallade nel terz'Atto, per il quale Paride vien condannato à morire, la compassione, che di lui hanno le due Ninfe Enone, et Astrea, la competenza di questa con Corebo, e Paride in voler morire, e tutto ciò che di più vedrai nell'Atto sudetto con lo scioglimento dell'Opera, è stato da me aggiunto al soggetto Spagnolo, che irregolarmente da tutti gli altri in due soli Atti fu dal suo autore disposto, e terminato, sciogliendolo nel fine dell'abbattimento di Paride, e Corebo. Onde in questo più che negli altri ti prego à compatire la mia debolezza, si come nello stile, et elocutione, nella quale non potrai riconoscere la vivezza della Musa nativa, si perche molto perdono in trasportarsi, sì ancora, perche l'obligo di stringersi alla brevità che ricerca la musica, et a i metri dell'arie, che brama l'uso moderno, in pochi luoghi mi hà dato la commodità di seguirle.

Appendix 4

Libretti modelled on French and Italian dramas

What follows is a list of libretti dating from the period 1680 to 1730. This does not claim to be comprehensive or final and is largely a gathering together of information from previous publications, most notably, Paolo Fabbri, *Il secolo cantante: Per una storia del libretto d'opera nel Seicento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990); Francesco Giuntini, *I drammi per musica di Antonio Salvi: Aspetti della 'riforma' del libretto nel primo Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994); Giovanna Gronda (ed.), *La carriera di un librettista: Pietro Pariati da Reggio di Lombardia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1990); Ariella Lanfranchi, 'Capece, Carlo Sigismondo', in *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*, vol. 18 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1975); Harris S. Saunders, *The Repertoire of a Venetian Opera House (1678-1714): the Teatro Grimani di San Giovanni Grisostomo* (Ph.D. Diss, Harvard University, 1985); Alison Stonehouse, 'Corneille, Pierre' and 'Racine, Jean', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, ed. by S. Sadie, vols 1 and 3 (London: Macmillan, 1992); Reinhard Strohm, *Die italienische Oper im 18. Jahrhundert* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1979), id., 'Metastasio's *Alessandro nell'Indie* and its earliest settings', in R. Strohm, *Essays on Handel and Italian Opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 232-48; id., '*Tragédie* into "Dramma per musica"' I, *Informazioni e studi vivaldiani* 9 (1988), pp. 14-24; II, ibid., 10 (1989), pp. 57-101; III, ibid., 11 (1990), pp. 11-25; IV, ibid., 12 (1991), pp. 47-74; id., 'Auf der Suche nach dem Drama im "Dramma per musica": die Bedeutung der französischen Tragödie', in *De Musica et Cantu: Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und Oper Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by P. Cahn and A.-K. Heimer (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), pp. 481-93; id., 'A Context for Griselda: the Teatro Capranica, 1711-1724', in *Alessandro Scarlatti und seine Zeit*, ed. by M. Lütolf (Bern: Haupt, 1995), pp. 79-114; Piero Weiss, 'Teorie drammatiche e "infranciosamento": motivi della "riforma" melodrammatica nel primo Settecento', in *Antonio Vivaldi: Teatro musicale, cultura, società*, ed. by L. Bianconi and G. Morelli, vol. 2 (Florence: Olschki, 1982), pp. 273-96. Weiss's list of Zeno's and Metastasio's libretti modelled on French tragedies is based on older studies by C. Dejob, W. Pietzsch, A. de Carli, A. Trigiani and E. Paratore (see Bibliography for full reference).

The titles which are marked with an asterisk are those which I myself have identified and which, to my knowledge, have not previously appeared in printed lists of this kind. At the end of this appendix appears a further list of libretti whose subject matter, plots and characters point to pre-existing models.

Adimari, Ludovico, *Il carceriere di se stesso* (Florence, 1681): Th. Corneille, *Le geôlier de soi-même*

Alborghetti, Giovanni Giacomo, *Il gran Cid* (Livorno, 1715): P. Corneille, *Le Cid*

Averara, Pietro d', *Andromaca* (Milan, 1701): J. Racine, *Andromaque*

Bernardoni, Pietro Antonio, *Eraclio* (Rome, 1712): P. Corneille, *Héraclius, empereur d'Orient*

Capece, Carlo Sigismondo, *La clemenza d'Augusto* (Rome, 1697): P. Corneille, *Cinna*

Capece, Carlo, *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Rome, 1713): J. Racine, *Iphigénie en Aulide*; O. Scamacca (tr. from Euripides)

Capece, Carlo, *Ifigenia in Tauri* (Rome, 1713): P.J. Martello, *Ifigenia in Tauride*

Capece, Carlo, *Tito e Berenice* (Rome, 1714): J. Racine, *Bérénice* and P. Corneille *Tite et Bérénice*

David, Domenico, *L'amante eroe* (Venice, 1691): J. Racine, *Alexandre le Grand* and C. Boyer, *Porus*

Frigimelica Roberti, Girolamo, *Mitridate Eupatore* (Venice, 1707): J. Racine, *Mithridate*

Ghisi, Stefano, *Flavio Bertarido, re dei longobardi* (Venice, 1706): P. Corneille, *Pertharite, roi des Lombards*

Giannini, Giovanni Matteo, *Onorio in Roma* (Venice, 1692): Th. Corneille, *Stilichon*

Grimani, Vincenzo, *Orazio* (Venice, 1688): P. Corneille, *Horace*

Lalli, Domenico and Silvani, Francesco (attributed to), *I veri amici* (Venice, 1713): P. Corneille, *Héraclius, empereur d'Orient*

Lalli, Domenico, *L'amor tirannico** (Venice, 1710): G. de Scudéry, *L'Amour tyrannique*

Lalli, Domenico, and Boldini, Giovanni (attributed to), *Onorio* (Venice, 1729): Th. Corneille, *Stilichon*

Lalli, Domenico, *Cambise** (Naples, 1717); *Timocrate* (Venice, 1723): Th. Corneille, *Timocrate* [through Salvi's *Timocrate*]

Lalli, Domenico, *Edippo** (Munich, 1729): Orsatto Giustinian, *Edipo re* (from Sophocles)

Lalli, Domenico, *Nicomede** (Munich, 1728): P. Corneille, *Nicomède*

Martello, Pier Jacopo, *Perseo* (Bologna, 1697): P. Corneille, *Andromède*

Morselli, Adriano, *Ibraim sultano* (Venice, 1692): J. Racine, *Bajazet*

Morselli, Adriano, *Incoronazione di Serse* (Venice, 1691): P. Corneille, *Rodogune, princesse des Parthes*

Morselli, Adriano, *La pace fra Tolomeo e Seleuco* (Venice, 1690): P. Corneille, *Rodogune, princesse des Parthes*

Muazzo, Francesco, *Paride** (Venice, 1720): from an identified tragedy (written by Muazzo himself and possibly by the same title)

Noris, Matteo, *Flavio Cuniberto* (Rome, 1696): P. Corneille, *Le Cid* (in part)

Noris, Matteo, *Marco Attilio Regolo* (Venice, 1693): N. Pradon, *Regulus* (loosely)

Pariati, Pietro, *Cajo Marzio Coriolano* (Vienna, 1717): P. Pariati, *Cajo Marzio Coriolano*

Pariati, Pietro, *Penelope* (Vienna, 1724): P. Pariati, *La casta Penelope*

Pariati, Pietro, *Sesostri* (Venice, 1710): Lagrange-Chancel, *Amasis, roi d'Egypte*

Pasqualigo, Benedetto, *Berenice* (Venice, 1725): P. Corneille, *Tite et Bérénice*; Th. Corneille, *Bérénice*

Pasqualigo, Benedetto, *Cimene* (Venice, 1721): P. Corneille, *Le Cid*

Pasqualigo, Benedetto, *Ifigenia in Tauride* (Venice, 1719): P.J. Martello, *Ifigenia*

Pasqualigo, Benedetto, *Mitridate re di Ponto vincitore di se stesso* (Venice, 1723): J. Racine, *Mithridate*

Piovene, Agostino, *Polidoro** (Venice, 1714): P. Torelli, *Polidoro*

Piovene, Agostino, *Tamerlano* (Venice, 1710): N. Pradon, *Tamerlan ou la Mort de Bajazet*

Rapparini, Giorgio Maria, *Berenice vendicativa* (Padua, 1680): J. Racine, *Bérénice*

Rizzi, Urbano, *Achille placato* (Venice, 1707): from an unidentified tragedy

Salvi, Antonio, *Adelaide* (Munich, 1722): A. Moniglia (attributed to), *Adelaide* (prose comedy)

Salvi, Antonio, *Amor vince l'odio, overo Timocrate* (Florence, 1715): Th. Corneille, *Timocrate*

Salvi, Antonio, *Amore e maestà* (Florence, 1715): Th. Corneille, *Le Comte d'Essex*

Salvi, Antonio, *Arminio* (Florence, 1703): J.G. de Campistron, *Arminius*

Salvi, Antonio, *Astianatte* (Florence, 1701): J. Racine, *Andromaque*

Salvi, Antonio, *Gli equivoci d'amore e d'innocenza* (Venice, 1723): P. Corneille, *Don Sanche d'Aragon*

Salvi, Antonio, *Il carceriere di se stesso* (Turin, 1720): Th. Corneille, *Le geôlier de soi-même*, and Adimari, Ludovico, *Il carceriere di se stesso*

Salvi, Antonio, *Il Gran Tamerlano* (Florence, 1706): N. Pradon, *Tamerlan*

Salvi, Antonio, *Il pazzo per politica* (Livorno, 1717): G.M. Crocetti, *Pazzia politica di Roberto re di Sicilia* (*opera scenica*)

Salvi, Antonio, *La forza compassionevole* (Livorno, 1694): Stanchi, *La forza compassionevole* (1691) based on Lope de Vega, *La fuerza lastimosa*

Salvi, Antonio, *Rodelinda regina dei Longobardi* (Florence, 1710): P. Corneille, *Pertharite, roi des Lombards*

Salvi, Antonio, *Stratonica* (Florence, 1707): Th. Corneille, *Antiochus*

Silvani, Francesco, *La costanza combattura in amore* (Venice, 1716): N. Pradon, *Statira*

Silvani, Francesco, *Sofonisba* (Venice, 1708): P. Corneille, *Sophonisbe*

Zeno, Apostolo, and Pariati, Pietro, *Antioco* (Venice, 1705): Th. Corneille, *Antiochus*

Zeno, Apostolo, and Pariati, Pietro, *Artaserse* (Venice, 1705): G. Agosti, *Artaserse*

Zeno, Apostolo, and Pariati, Pietro, *Costantino* (Venice, 1710): Th. Corneille, *Maximian*

Zeno, Apostolo, and Pariati, Pietro, *Il falso Tiberino* (Venice, 1709): Ph. Quinault, *Agrippa roy d'Albe ou le faux Tiberinus*

Zeno, Apostolo, and Pietro Pariati, *Astarto* (Venice, 1708): Ph. Quinault, *Astrate roy du Tyr* and *Amalasonte*, and Th. Corneille, *Darius*

Zeno, Apostolo, *Andromaca* (Vienna, 1724): J. Racine, *Andromaque*; P. Corneille, *Héraclius*

Zeno, Apostolo, *Faramondo* (Venice, 1699): La Calprenède, *Faramonde* (prose romance)

Zeno, Apostolo, *Ifigenia in Aulide* (Vienna, 1718): J. Racine, *Iphigénie en Aulide*

Zeno, Apostolo, *Meride e Selinunte* (Vienna, 1721): P. Corneille, *Le Cid*

Zeno, Apostolo, *Merope* (Venice, 1712): P. Torelli, *Merope*; A. Cavallerino, *Telefonte*; G.B. Liviera, *Cresfonte*

Zeno, Apostolo, *Mitridate* (Vienna, 1728): La Motte, *Inès de Castro*; Racine, *Mithridate*

Zeno, Apostolo, *Ormisda* (Vienna, 1721): P. Corneille, *Nicomède*; *Rodogune, princesse des Parthes*; J. Rotrou, *Cosroès**

Zeno, Apostolo, *Pirro* (Venice, 1704): P. Corneille, *Nicomède*

Zeno, Apostolo, *Teuzzone* (Milan, 1706): J. Racine, *Bajazet* and Th. Corneille, *Le Comte d'Essex*

Zeno, Apostolo, *Venceslao* (Venice, 1703): J. Rotrou, *Venceslas*

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Lalli, Domenico, *Il Lamano* (Venice, 1719): Th. Corneille, *Pyrrhus roy d'Épire*

Lalli, Domenico, *La verità in cimento* (Venice, 1720): J. Rotrou, *Cosroès*; P. Corneille, *Héraclius*

Lalli, Domenico, *Camaide, imperatore della China overo Li figli rivali del padre* (Salzburg, 1722): Racine, *Mithridate*

Lalli, Domenico, *Damiro e Pitia* (Munich, 1724): Chappuzeau, *Damon et Pythias ou le triomphe de l'amour et de l'amitié*

Lalli, Domenico, *Pisistrato* (Dolo, 1711): P. Corneille, *Cinna*

Lucchini, Antonio Maria, *Foca superbo* (Venice, 1716): P. Corneille, *Héraclius*

Minelli, Andrea, *La Rodoguna* (Casale, 1703): P. Corneille, *Rodogune, princesse des Parthes*

Zeno, Apostolo, *Atenaide* (Barcellona, 1709): Lagrange-Chancel, *Athénaïs*

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